Daily Report

East Europe

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Berisha on Bosnia, Relations With Turkey

NC2807085995 Istanbul ZAMAN in Turkish 25 Jul 95 p 5

["Text" of interview with President Sali Berisha by ZAMAN correspondent Mehmet Kocak in Tirana; date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kocak] Mr. President, can you comment on the developments that are taking place in your region?

[Berisha] Those heading the effort to create a "Greater Serbia" are responsible for the regrettable developments taking place in the Balkan region, which is a mosaic of different cultures. They have ignored the norms of international law and continued their occupation and acts of genocide. Consequently, they have been described as war criminals, but have not been punished. Unfortunately, the Serbian forces, which are guilty of committing massacres, have not been deterred. The international community, including the UN, has failed to fulfill its responsibilities.

The UN and NATO have limited themselves to criticizing the Serbs for massacring people en masse, committing violence, and capturing Srebrenica, which was a safe haven. The Western countries have ignored developments and this worries the entire world. We believe that talks must be held to resolve the problem. However, appropriate action should have been taken against the terrorist activities of the Serbs, who continue their occupation in complete disregard of the norms of international law and past agreements. Appropriate action has to be taken. That is the only way to prevent the war from spreading. It is not too late yet.

Unfortunately, the UN and NATO have taken no action, regardless of how bad things are. The Western countries are still inactive. That policy is wrong. It will not contribute to peace. On the contrary, it will encourage the chauvinist Serbs. The war will definitely spread to Kosovo and Sanjak [as published] if the wrong approach continues and the expansionist Serbs are not halted. Any confusion in Kosovo will touch off a war in the whole Balkan region.

In short, biased and erroneous policies have yielded negative results. We will be confronted with an even more serious situation if the wrong approach is continued and concessions are made to the Serbs. And that would threaten world peace.

Kosovo Must Be Defended

[Kocak] Some 87 percent of Kosovo's population are ethnic Albanians. Reports from the region say that preparations are being made for a massacre. Apparently, you are concerned because the people there are your kinsmen. Will the Serbs commit massacres in Kosovo? What will happen if they do so?

[Berisha] The Serbs seem determined to establish a "Greater Serbia" in order to control the whole Balkan region. Apparently they have postponed their attacks on Sanjak and Kosovo because they did not expect such strong resistance in Bosnia. While horrifying acts of violence continue in Bosnia, merciless terrorist activities are being carried out by the Serbian state in Sanjak and Kosovo. The Albanians in Kosovo are completely unarmed. They cannot prepare to defend themselves because of the Serbian occupation. They have been deprived of their rights and forced to live in oppression. An international force must be deployed in the region to protect them. The Serbs control Krajina in Croatia. A UN peacekeeping force is based close to that area. A UN peacekeeping force must be deployed between Kosovo and Serbia to prevent the massacre of people.

Albanian-language teaching and cultural and political activities have been banned in Kosovo. Unlawful arrests are being made and people are punished without trial. Torture is widespread. We are determined to support the unarmed Albanians in Kosovo until the end. This must be made clear.

[Kocak] Can you comment on the outcome of the recent conference on Bosnia that was held in London?

[Berisha] The entire world expected the conference to decide on how to counter the violent activities of the Serbian forces and pave the way for peace, but the outcome was disappointing. Their resolution applies to only a single city in Bosnia. It was as if the conference was encouraging the Serbian forces to continue to massacre people. The conference should have adopted a resolute decision to force the Serbian forces to lay down their arms in Bosnia and end their pressure on Sanjak and Kosovo. The Serbs should have been informed that they will be punished without warning if they fail to comply. However, our expectations were not met. The conference was ineffective.

[Kocak] Can you comment on Albania's relations with Turkey and assess Ankara's policy on the Balkan countries?

[Berisha] Albania has close relations with Turkey. We will maintain our friendly and fraternal relations in every field. President Suleyman Demirel's recent visit to Albania strengthened bilateral relations. Turkey and Albania established close relations when former President Turgut Ozal was in office. Turkey is helping Albania's democratization effort. It is also helping our country to adopt a free market economy. Some 6 million

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people of Albanian origin live in Turkey. We have a common history and we have coexisted for many centuries. We have cultural relations and we are related by blood. Those are the most important factors between our two countries.

I take this opportunity to salute the friendly and fraternal Turkish people and our kinsmen in Turkey.

Traders Protest FYROM Order on Customs Post

AU2807091395 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 27 Jul 95

[Report by Sami Selishta]

[FBIS Translated Text] Precisely at a time when the Albanian nationals expect the Macedonian Government to drop the heavy tax of 40 German marks [DM] and DM1,500 marks as a security to enter Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], the government is undertaking a very grave act against the Albanian traders by not allowing the trucks that arrive across Macedonia from other eastern countries to enter Albania via the Bllate customs post.

On an order of the Macedonian Governn ent, entry to Albania is centralized, only via Qafe Thane. This has caused a great indignation among the traders who move goods from Bulgaria, Romania, and other eastern countries to north and northeastern Albania. Traders from Diber, Kukes, or Shkoder have to add more than 300 km to their jouney to pass through Qafe Thane. This burdens the cost of the commodities.

Some days ago, dozens of cargoes and trucks passed via Bllate to the northeastern Albania. Now, work at the Bllate customs house has almost stopped.

Meanwhile, the customs post at Qafe Thane has to face the full volume of Albania's export and import with the east. Even the Macedonian and Bulgarian businessmen who have contracts with northern districts have expressed indignation over this administrative act by the Macedonian Government.

Despite statements in the Macedonian media, practices prove the contrary. The stringent measures against Albanians who want to move to Macedonia are becoming increasingly worse.

Party Leaders View Postponement of Nano Judgment

AU2707132595 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 27 Jul 95 p 3

[Article by "A.C.": "Nano Trial: Political Party Leaders React"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Socialist Deputy Chairman Luan Hajdaraga called the decision of the Plenary Session of the Court of Cassation "anarchy in the Albanian judiciary." Albanian politicians reacted immediately after yesterday's consideration of the Nano case. "It is tragic for Albania's political and economic stability," Hajdaraga continued," that the mandate of this legislature starts and finishes with the Nano case." However, leaders of other political parties also spoke about the issue.

Prec Zogaj of the Democratic Alliance considered as "a fair and a positive sign" the fact that "the prosecutor has said that he wishes to familiarize himself with the files, especially the Italian ones." Meanwhile, Republican leader Sabri Godo said, "I do not understand the claims of some that the Nano case depends on what the organs of justice in Italy say." For Godo, Italian justice judges its own citizens while Albania has the right to judge hers.

According to Social Democratic leader Skender Gjinushi, "there was little hope this time, because with the appeal, as in the trial, Berisha was always holding the reins."

League Threatens Protest Against Land Bill

AU2707164795 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 27 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by Artan Cani: "Rightist League: Purchase and Sale of Land a Theft of Property"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The Democratic Party deputies will be called collaborators with the former communists if they vote in favor of the sale and purchase of land." This sensational assertion was made at the Albanian Rightist League's news conference yesterday. The League's statement about the Land Bill issued yesterday stated that "it represents a massive theft of property and a violation of the nation's territorial integrity." The statement also confirms that "Pjeter Arbnori refused a petition bearing about 200,000 signatures and called it illegal."

The Republican leader Sabri Godo yesterday spoke in favor of strong opposition to this bill. "Deputies should not take upon themselves such a stain that will be remembered in the history of this parliament." This

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was a call that Godo made in front of journalists and foreign diplomats. However, the Rightist League made another appeal at yesterday's news conference, this time addressed to the people. "If the Land Bill is approved," Godo read out, "the Rightist League calls on honest Albanians not to sell or to buy land." There was tough talk later in the statement, which stated that "the League will take initiatives of all kinds in a continuing popular protest." The Rightists called the Democratic Party's attempts to approve this law "the deviousness of the current regime." The League stated yesterday that parliament speaker Pjeter Arbnori had refused the petition with about 200,000 signatures. According to the statement, Arbnori said that "such petitions are illegal." Meanwhile, Godo said yesterday that "this is another flagrant violation of human rights immediately after our admission to the Council of Europe."

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Havel Considered as Possible UN Secretary General

95CH0295D Prague PRAGUE POST in English 27 Jun 95 p 11

[Article by Tom Gross, a Prague-based British journalist and lawyer: "Havel Could Lift U.N. Morale"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Heavily criticized and on the defensive, the United Nations is not having a happy 50th birthday year. In mid-June, at the end of their three-day summit in Halifax, Nova Scotia, leaders of the Group of Seven countries were expected to adopt a communique calling for the biggest shake-up of the United Nations in its history. But while tighter budgets, improved efficiency and greater accountability are certainly welcomed, these are not enough.

It is partly the fault of the political elites of these very countries that the United Nations has been allowed to decline to the point that staff at one of its model agencies, the U.N. Children's Fund, UNICEF, are so disillusioned with the agency's wastefulness that they won't even buy the organization's charity Christmas cards.

If morale has reached such a low among U.N. staff, then what about taxpayers who fund the thousands of bureaucrats based in expensive cities such as Geneva and Vienna? What, they might ask, do Unctad, UNDP, FAO, UNSO, TCDC, Unifem and a host of other U.N. agencies actually do?

The United Nations is a good idea gone hopelessly wrong just at a point in history when we need it most. The collapse of the Soviet empire finally put the international body in a position to play a real role in promoting international cooperation. But half a decade after the end of the Cold War, the political establishments of the leading countries, including those of the G7, appear devoid of fresh ideas about what kind of society we want to live in.

The result: Voters are turning in large numbers to extremist or protest candidates such as Jean Marie Le Pen in France and Ross Perot in the United States.

The possible consequences of this disillusionment should not be under-estimated. There is a real danger that electorates will turn their backs on liberal democracy itself.

The United Nations, for all its faults, remains the best mechanism we have of tying the world together. Reform of its institutions is only part of what's needed. Just as important, if it is not to become the United Nothing, is clear leadership. The present secretary-general, Butrus Butrus-Ghali, 73, while perfectly amiable, inspires almost no one. He should not seek a second term as he says he intends to.

The United Nations needs someone at its helm who will offer genuinely fresh leadership and have something meaningful to say. Step forward Czech President Vaclav Havel, who should be nominated as the next U.N. secretary-general.

Three times imprisoned for standing up to Czechoslovakia's communist dictatorship, Havel's courage to speak out about what's right and wrong is unquestioned. His experiences are a far cry from the first-class travel and five-star hotels U.N. personnel have grown accustomed to, just as his speeches and writings are far removed from the waffle regurgitated at endless U.N. summits and conferences.

Havel's ability at the age of 58, even as a head of state, to drop into the local pub for a quick beer and to befriend pop stars, may put him more in touch with young people, who particularly feel left out of the new world order, just as his terms as a prisoner and manual laborer provide him with special sympathy for oppressed people everywhere.

As followers of Czech politics will know, Havel, while still personally admired among Czechs for leading the revolution that overthrew the communist regime, hasn't wielded any real power since at least 1992, when he not only failed to prevent the split of Czechoslovakia but couldn't even persuade the government, led by Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, to hold a referendum on the issue.

It is the cooler, pragmatic and more wily Klaus, the man who has hung a large portrait of Margaret Thatcher behind his desk, not the Frank Zappa-loving Havel, who now runs the show.

Very few Czechs pay serious attention to Havel's moralizing in the get-rich-quick-by-any-means atmosphere of today's Prague. Most, it seems, would rather take Ivana Trump as their role model. Havel's wisdom and voice of reason are largely wasted on his people, and there are too few politicians in the world today like him to waste.

Havel in truth is not a conventional politician at all, but an anti-politician. He is a president who even in his second term is not pompous, power-hungry or remote. He has not been a particularly effective Czech president because he speaks for humanity at large rather than for the national interest, and this is just what the world body needs.

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Unlike most world leaders today, sadly bereft of fresh ideas, Havel has plenty to say—intellectually, politically, philosophically, morally.

The United Nations doesn't need a prime minister or a bureaucrat at its helm, but someone who can rise above politics. A leader who could command respect would be more likely to attract competent, honest and efficient staff below, and support among the ordinary people of the world. Havel, more than any other current statesman, seems to fit the bill.

Germany's Growing Role in Europe Viewed

95CH0302A Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 29 Jun 95 p 5

[Commentary by Tomas Hajek: "Germany-Europe Relationship"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is the time of changing meanings. In 1990, immediately after the collapse of the Iron Curtain, an integrating Europe was the synonym for the real West, that is, the Atlantic West. At the beginning of the nineties, NATO really was the broadest framework which contained smaller frameworks, such as the framework of the integrating Europe. Now the significance of NATO and the significance of the European Union are separating: it is no longer true that countries which might be interested in joining decide without fail for both institutions together; they are often advised to "choose" between them. Vaclav Belohradsky, in his highly polemical article "Europe As a Threat" (LIDOVE NOVINY 14 June), considers the German use of the words "Europe" and especially "Euroregion" a cover up for Germany's strong influence in Europe. Let's add: an "invisible" influence, because Germany today no longer needs a large army in order to rule.

The "subterfuge of history" is in effect. The unification of Europe after the end of World War II was conceived as an attempt to overcome German isolation, which was the source not only of everlasting frustration but also—curiously enough—of German strength. But, of course, beware: Germany took its place in the Community of States, but through the diffusion of its economic influence it is beginning to have an excessive influence on this Community, or at least is trying to. Germany has changed: in the thirties it was nationalist and basically weak economically, today it is relatively cosmopolitan and strong economically. A certain kind of German "show of strength" persists, of course. Previously the Germans directed their energy toward a resurrection of a mythical archaism, they searched for something absolutely permanent; today they decided to excel in adaptability, in how they cope with the openness of modern society. Nothing against that. Unfortunately, it is only a matter of time before there emerges from beneath the openness and world-citizenship the primary source of that "show of strength," the prehistoric tribal wilfulness.

After loosing two wars in the 20th century, the frustrated Germany has—maybe—decided on a conscious grand subterfuge, which replicates the terrain of the unconscious "subterfuge of history." The Germans are tolerant, they applaud Havel, they nip rightist extremism in the bud, but what are they really thinking? What in fact do they want, those quiet, educated, intelligent, rich Germans, who will change beyond recognition in a day when they sense the weakness of their adversaries and get a whiff of their own victory? A two-way parallel process is under way: Germany is disappearing "within Europe" and Europe is disappearing "within Germany." This process is symmetrical for now, Germany wants it to be symmetrical, and the world, after all, would not tolerate an asymmetry that favors Germany. The problem is that even this symmetry represents in its way a process at the end of which not a nationalist, but a technocratically cosmopolitan Germany will control Europe to a certain extent.

There are more than 80 million Germans. They are an almost demonically capable nation. Their influence will undoubtedly grow, until it is stopped by the fact that Germany, for reasons of geography, raw materials, and population, can never be a world power. The immediate neighbors of Germany, a Germany that shows a "modest" face to the world, will naturally have a different view of it than would China, Japan, Australia, or Brazil. The world may not pay too much heed to the concerns of Germany's immediate neighbors. Nevertheless, it is essential to stand up to Germany's influence, although not exclusively because of the "influence" itself. The danger lies in the fact that in its German version, the economic-political influence as such often and in an instant changes into oppression, for in the background there is still at work the German "despotic" national character and a series of profound frustrations. In order to maintain a continental equilibrium it may be necessary to abide by the following premises: systematically counterbalance Germany's influence with the influence of the United States, Great Britain, and France (make a real effort to join NATO). Avoid humiliating Germany and deepening the decades-long frustration of German public opinion; continue the unification of Europe, because a united Europe is not being created merely as a prevention against Germany's urge to become a great power; the vision and reality of a united Europe also has a calming effect on a number of conflicts, such as the Italian claim against Slovenia or the Slovak-Hungarian nationalistic tensions.

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Let us hope that the law of history will favor European peace also at the beginning of the 21st century.

European Background of Czech-German Dialogue

95CH0291A Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 14 Jun 95 p 5

[Article by Vaclav Belohradsky: "Europe as a Threat"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Let us consider the language "German-Czech dialogue." When the Germans say "dialogue and mutual understanding," they want to say that we must accept the German notion regarding World War II, that we must become reconciled to the consequences of German defeat. The same holds true for the expression "a thousand years of coexistence with the Germans," as used in our country. In actual fact, the past two centuries were nothing other than an effort to transform our state into a German state in which the Czechs would only be a politically impotent ethnic majority. It is sufficient to read the record of parliamentary discussions which took place in 1866 and dealt with the establishment of a Czech university, to note the statements made by Riegr in that year for us to understand that the Germans were the absolute enemies of coexistence with the Czechs as a political people. The fight for statehood finally ended with the expatriation of Germans from our territory, which was a politically rational decision. Who would have the courage after the war to live together with the Germans in one state? And anyway, the allies were basing their approach on the necessity to reeducate the German nation so that it might be at all possible to live with it on the same planet. The expatriation is the consequence of German unwillingness to be reconciled with the fact that they are a minority in the Czech state, whose citizens they actually never wanted to be.

We were recently able to read in MLADA FRONTA DNES that the relationship between Kohl and Klaus "had cooled after Prime Minister Klaus had sharply criticized the social market economy espoused by Kohl's CDU [Christian Democratic Union] at a session of the European Democratic Union in Budapest. The Bonn chancellor is irritated by the biting remarks aimed at the European Union." How quickly Chancellor Kohl has occupied the place held by Brezhnev: Mr. Klaus took the liberty of criticizing not only the European Union, which Kohl considers to be his property, but even the ideology of the Kohl party! This is irritating. The chancellor obviously has notions of democracy which are different from ours.

The followers of the German interpretation of postwar history currently make use of the expression "the genocidal Benes Decrees." They were not genocidal; they merely anticipated the expatriation of the population, not its liquidation—let us not be deceitful! The signatories of "Reconciliation '95" include people whom I greatly respect, for example, Jan Sokol or Petr Pithart. I want to ask them: How do you visualize reconciliation with a person who has said that "the year 1938 cannot be compared with the year 1945 because in 1938 anyone who wanted to could have stayed and there was no loss of property?" This sentence, uttered by Mr. Neubauer, cannot, after all, be considered as the starting point for a dialogue and must be refuted. That sentence is "from the obverse side" of history, it indirectly expresses agreement with Nazism. In a similar vein, I read in DIE WOCHE, in the issue devoted to the end of the war, the following phrase by Karl Peter Schwarz: "In actual fact, Czech resistance to Nazism did not begin until the week following Hitler's suicide, that is to say, at noon on 5 May, 1945, when Prague rose up against the German garrison." This is preceded by offensive remarks about the fact that our working people were quietly and contentedly working in the protectorate in support of victory by the Reich and Ota Filip is cited as an authority in this matter. Do we want to carry on a dialogue with these people, to prove that Heydrich did not do it to himself? This is degrading!

We read the following in the MLADA FRONTA DNES magazine: "The German side estimates the number of victims resulting from the expatriation from the Czech Lands to be as high as 250,000; according to Czech historians, a maximum of 30,000 people perished at that time. By the way, the second number is closer to the number of Czech victims for the entire period of the occupation (if we do not count the murdered Czech Jews)." I have no idea where the author found the number of 30,000, but his phrase "if we do not count" gives me pause, as if the Czechs, if they disregard those Jews, were actually siding with the Germans. In actual fact, the protectorate was a dreadful case of robbery, when an entire nation joined in a foreign war effort and, in the event of victory, would then have been liquidated as a nation. Moreover, I believe that the protectorate acted to break up psychologically and that we are a different nation since that time. I ascribe the postwar cruelties to this psychic degeneration.

The general tendency to disparage the horrors of the protectorate (anyone who did no harm to the Germans was alright) is tantamount to accepting the German notion regarding the protectorate, is tantamount to identifying the victims with the aggressor. In the same vein, it is being said that we paid for the expatriation with a 40-year period of the lack of freedom. Of course, this is said to be not as a result of the expatriation, but due to our physical survival: Our savior enslaved us, but this does not change the fact that he saved us.

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Let us consider one of the constants in the political history of central Europe during this century. Hitler frequently spoke of the fact that the Czech portion of the protectorate must be aware of its European duty and must fulfill it. F. Neubauer and others are constantly repeating that we must fulfill our European duty and must invalidate the Benes Decrees. Kohl is angry because Klaus allowed himself to criticize Europe. The word Europe in German mouths is always a threat—this is a constant of European history, ranging from Bismarck to Kohl. Let us be aware of that.

Let us also notice the word "Euro" used in the term denoting the "Euroregion" of Egrensis or Pomerania. Why should something which is only a Czech-German entity be called "Euroregion"? When the Poles demanded that the Swedes and Danes participate in the Pomeranian Euroregion, the German interest cooled. The Euroregion of Egrensis will not become a Euroregion until the Dutch, Belgians, Italians, and perhaps the Spaniards participate—otherwise, it is only a Czech-German border area.

Frank Boldt says in the journal DEJINY A SOUCASNOST (3/95) that "Germany is disappearing more and more behind Europe, and, of course, also beneath Europe." I have no doubt that Boldt firmly believes this and is even attempting to contribute to this status. But many Europeans believe the opposite, namely that Europe is disappearing more and more beneath Germany and that this is the principal problem of the postbipolar order in Europe. The purpose of our Czech state was always to contribute to seeing to it that Germany is European and not that Europe is German. Otherwise, we would not be integrating with Europe through Germany, but would be integrating with Germany instead of with Europe.

Let us remember this in the dialogue with the Germans.

Bill on Separation of Church, State Debated

95CH0297A Prague PRAGUE POST in English 27 Jun 95 p 3

[Article by Alena Zivnustkova: "State Hopes To End Its Control—and Funding—of Religion"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Amid constant debate about when and how to return religious property seized by the communists, the government also is grappling with the issue of the separation of church and state.

The Ministry of Culture, which oversees churches in the Czech Republic, has been given the responsibility by the government for preparing a draft law that would finally address how to eliminate state control of churches. If passed, the law would be the first of its kind in this country.

In early June, the Ministry of Culture submitted its third proposal. Like the previous two, it was rejected by the government. The ministry is slated to propose yet another draft by the end of June.

The problem? Disagreement over the basic issues of how churches should be classified and how to make them self-supporting.

The head of the Ministry of Culture's church department, Pavel Zeman, said the opinions of the various ministers debating the matter range from favoring complete separation of church and state to favoring the same level of supervision as there was under communism.

"There is a basic problem ... even in the question of what does the church mean for the state," Zeman said. "We classify the church as a group of people of the same belief that is formed to spread religion."

He said that the ministry would like to see churches removed from state control, in accordance with the "modern understanding of churches," with their freedoms not limited in any way. He said this also includes financial independence.

Currently the state devotes about 400 million Kc ($15.4 million) annually to subsidizing the 21 denominations registered in the Czech Republic. The greatest amount goes to the Roman Catholic Church.

According to Catholic Church spokesman Miloslav Fiala, the church—which has about 4 million registered followers and nearly 1,560 priests—receives 320 million Kc.

To ease the transition to financial independence, the Culture Ministry's proposal calls for tax deductions for churches and "bons" for those who donate. A bon would be a certificate bought in the church and then be used to reduce the buyer's taxes.

Minister of Finance Ivan Kocarnik has made several objections to the Culture Ministry's proposal, saying. "The draft does not correspond to the intention to separate the church from the state."

The director of the government's Non-Profit Organizations Financing Department, Jiri Volf, also criticized the proposal—particularly the tax deductions.

"Since 1993, we have been trying to build a taxation system fair to everyone. We can't immediately start with exemptions," Volf said.

The Catholic Church's Fiala said the main question to address is, can the believers adequately finance churches?

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"We are slowly preparing them for that," he said. "But it's a mistake that no one consulted us."

"Not all denominations would be as directly affected by financial independence. Zeman said that six denominations currently choose to accept no support from the state. He said, (That will) definitely be to their advantage in the future."

One such independent church is the Union of Baptists, which has 2,300 members.

"It's our principle not to take any support from the state," said church representative Vera Lehocka. "So the nonbelievers don't have to feel that their taxes are financing us."

Coalition Unlikely To Push Through More Laws

95CH0296A Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 23 Jun 95 p 5

[Commentary by Premysl Svora: "A Troubled Situation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The varying reactions of the government coalition parties to a strike, the pension plan, a method of voting for senators, and the establishment of higher territorial entities leads to the expectation that, one year prior to the elections, this governing grouping will no longer jointly push through even one more important law.

The coalition parties are attempting to stress their differences, they are demonstrating their fundamental disagreement with the views expressed by their partners—with a single goal: to draw the attention of the voting public to themselves. The fact that the small coalition parties need to set themselves aside from the larger one is appropriate. No one would even expect absolute agreement in all matters. Except that statements of disagreement, which are accompanied by a sharper vocabulary, are occurring ever more frequently and are showing up even where agreement ruled until recently.

The populists never concealed the fact that they were different. Their membership and their electorate base is more Christian-Socialist rather than Christian-Civic in nature and Lux has hitherto managed to artfully maneuver between the more rightist-oriented policy of the coalition and the more leftist calls issued by his membership. It is conceivable that, with the approaching elections, his policy will be even more attuned to the ear of his own voters rather than to the actual needs of the coalition.

The ODA [Civic Democratic Alliance] is another story. Its dramatic failure at the polls resulted in the alliance closing itself off into itself and to begin accusing all those around it of its own failure. This was also reflected in the conduct within the coalition. If Klaus says that he will not yield to the pressure groups of physicians, teachers, and railroad workers, then Kalvoda rushes in with a statement that he respects physicians and teachers and that they should be negotiated with. If Klaus makes a concession to the striking railroaders, then Kalvoda says that no concessions should be made. If there were actually to be a strike, some member of the alliance would certainly tell the public that it would likely be better to make concessions and thus preserve stability. Although this precarious situation will maintain the current coalition in power until the regular parliamentary elections next year, the topic of the next election results will be more important for this government than the topic of administering the state. We shall likely not see any greater degree of industriousness on the part of the coalition until the elections. The early start of the preelection season only tends to confirm the insecurity of the small parties, whose fate can be expressly influenced by the elections.

Information on Extremist Groups Published

95CH0296B Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 12 Jun 95 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Leftist Extremism in the Czech Republic Is Fragmented; The Right Is Organizing"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—In the Czech Republic, there are currently an estimated 7,000 individuals who publicly claim membership in extremist groups. Of this number, which does not include the followers of the republican parties, approximately 1,500 people are among the followers of neo-Nazism, approximately 4,000 are affiliated with so-called patriotic organizations, and 1,500 are among the followers of the Skinhead Movement.

This is listed in the report on manifestations of extremist attitudes in the Czech Republic, which was worked out by Jan Ruml, minister of the interior. The most significant neo-Nazi entities in the Czech Republic are listed by the minister as being the Patriotic Front and the Czech branches of the supranational organization entitled Hammer Skins and the National Socialist Movement of Europe. Mutual communications among these entities, which consistently make use of clandestine equipment, are reported to be at a high level.

The ultraleftist extremist movements, some of which are mutually antagonistic, are greatly fragmented at present in the Czech Republic. Members of the ultraleft can be divided into anarchistic organizations and groups whose activities are inspired by communist ideology, for example, the People's Union of National and Social

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Deliverance. With a few exceptions, which involve random actions, the leftist scene is relatively calm, according to the report issued by the Ministry of the Interior. Even though there are signals indicating efforts to acquire arms, leftist terror continues to be only a latent threat in view of the shortage of finances.

According to the report by Minister Ruml, extremist activities, such as, for example, the assault on individuals for racial reasons and as a result of xenophobic motives, racially oriented demonstrations, and mass appearances, play only a small role in overall criminality in the Czech Republic. Nevertheless, these activities, which are accounted for, for the most part, by followers of the Skinhead Movement, result in extraordinary repercussions within the Czech Republic as well as beyond its borders.

Dlouhy Favors Continuing Trade With Slovakia

95CH0291B Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 17 Jun 95 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Dlouhy Claims That Slovakia's Economic Prosperity Is Also in the Interest of the Czech Republic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—It is in the interest of the Czech Republic for the Slovak economy to develop well, stated V. Dlouhy, Czech minister of trade and industry, at a Friday lecture for Slovak representatives of economic and financial circles. He added that this was not a courtesy or an act of nostalgia for the federation, but a pure economic calculus.

He spoke out in favor of preserving Czecho-Slovak economic relationships, but, at the same time, recalled the obstacles to trade. "Not all the rules of the customs union are being fully applied," he said, and referred to certification and other technical obstacles to mutual trade. According to unofficial data provided by the Czech Statistical Office, the Czech GDP declined last year by 1-1.5 percentage points as a consequence of a decline in trade with Slovakia. According to the minister, the Czech Republic will insist on the broadest adherence to the spirit of the customs union agreement, so as to prevent its becoming a mere scrap of paper. Minister Dlouhy wanted to meet with the Slovak economic ministers in Bratislava, but the meeting was rejected because the Meciar cabinet was meeting at Vranov nad Toplou in eastern Slovakia.

Meciar's Views on Payments Agreement Questioned

95CH0302B Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 27 Jun 95 p 5

[Commentary by Andy Siegfried: "Meciar's Speed-Up"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vladimir Meciar thinks that the abrogation of the payments agreement puts a "question mark over the reliability of the Czech Republic as a partner." And further: "In Prague they are doing what suits them, without consideration for the other side." And, they are perfidious. "Ivan Gasparovic returned from his talks with Klaus with a clear hint: Arrange a 5-percent devaluation and everything will be fine." And so on.

There is no point in arguing with these statements, because they are not meant primarily for Czech ears. Massaging the domestic public is certainly a tried-and-true method of political manipulation—and more effective than any other—by the Slovak prime minister. There is the question, however, where the boundary is beyond which the tactic of "playing possum" rather becomes counterproductive. Vaclav Klaus used such an approach successfully during all those arguments about the warriors' altar, the gold owed, and all the other folkloric matters meant exclusively for domestic consumption. Now it is obvious that the play of the Czech card oversteps the framework of the usual output. The postfederal Czech-Slovak coexistence has never been free of problems, but now it appears that it could take on a thus far unknown, let's say, Slovak-Hungarian, quality.

Meciar indicates openly that he has serious doubts about the good intentions of the Czech side to settle the clearing balance, that is, the ECU130 million of marginal credit. In spite of the fact that so far nobody in Prague has cast any doubt on the settlement. And he also gave notice of a "discussion" on the theme "whether the customs union is in fact still advantageous." The answer of the Slovak government will be given within a week, he lets it be known, and it cannot be ruled out that the reference to the speed of the reply augurs the transformation of a radical vocabulary into radical acts.

It is a remarkable speed-up. Pity that Meciar, as recently as April, for example, never answered within a week any of the repeated requests for a meeting with Klaus's adviser Weigl, or in May Klaus's letter, in which Klaus asked him for a common course of action in the matter of the payments agreement. Even though he had not one, but two weeks, in which to reply. Now he is rushing and it is not clear where he will stop.

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Austria Hinders Investment of Czech Capital

95CH0288B Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 13 Jun 95 p 7

[Unattributed article: "Austria Protects Its Market From Czech Capital"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vienna—Austria is resisting the penetration of Czech capital to its market, and under various pretexts rejects the creation of joint Czech-Austrian enterprises or branches of Czech firms on its territory, wrote the Viennese daily KURIER yesterday. According to the daily, Austrian authorities practice similar "tough protectionism" against East European investors.

As an example it mentions the Zlin entrepreneur Kvetoslav Tolar, who owns a company which makes Christmas decorations and gift items. Because he is exporting most of his production to Austria, he wanted to establish a branch of his firm there. He secured the necessary certificates, found a dependable Austrian citizen as his partner, and even managed to get the security of half-a-million shillings required for establishing a corporation. In spite of that, the authorities in Lower Austria refused to approve the establishment of the firm, on the grounds that an enterprise making gift items "is not in the interest of the national economy or any other public interest" of the country.

KURIER points out that East European firms already are at a disadvantage in the Austrian market because of the high wages. "East European firms have only a single employee in Austria because they are not given permission to employ cheaper labor force from their own country."

"Austrians preach to us about liberalism, but they themselves practice the toughest protectionism. Even as an EU associated country we are discriminated against in Austria," KURIER quotes Tolar. He thinks that such a policy is actionable.

In the Czech Republic there are about 2,000 private Austrian investors, and in all of East Europe there are 13,100 joint enterprises with Austrian participation. More exports go to the reforming countries than to all the EFTA countries combined.

Skoda Nuclear Engineering Plant Selling Shares

95CH0295B Prague PRAGUE POST in English 27 Jun 95 p 10

[Article by Maggie Ledford Lawson: "Buyers Queue for Nuclear Engineering Concern"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Suitors are lining up at Skoda Praha's door, hoping to buy a piece of the action in one of the hottest companies in the Czech Republic.

A settlement with the company's sub-contractors, to be announced this month, is expected to clear the way for the privatization of the 2,300-employee engineering giant, which is rapidly emerging as an international player in the nuclear power field. It has nuclear projects worldwide and also provides technology for other types of power plants.

Government officials expect to sell up to 54 percent of the company's shares.

One eager suitor for a share of Skoda Praha is Skoda Pizen—a remarriage that would resolve outstanding issues between the two companies. Both were part of a conglomerate that operated under the communist regime. One unresolved issue involves use of the Skoda trademark. The Prague company also owes the west Bohemian company millions of crowns for equipment provided for the Mochovce nuclear power plant in Slovakia.

The ministry of Industry and Trade has proposed that Skoda Pizen be given a 54 percent stake in Skoda Praha for 1.6 billion Kc ($61.5 million), some 20 percent above market value.

According to Milan Kuchta, a spokesman for Skoda Praha, that company opposes a merger with Skoda Pizen on the grounds that such a partnership would force the Prague Skoda to buy equipment from Skoda Pizen, thus limiting the company's maneuvering room.

Skoda Praha's management has said that a better alternative would be to sell a 34 percent share to Czech energy giant CEZ.

And CEZ is interested, said Jan Krenk, CEZ second vice chairman. "We'd like the biggest number of shares we can have, as soon as possible."

CEZ already is a major user of Skoda Praha's services, said Krenk. "It would be good if we could influence the company's decisions," he said.

Other contenders for a share in the engineering company include Electricite de France (EdF) and U.S.-based Westinghouse Corp.

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"We're just waiting for a decision from the Czech government," said Marc Regnard, EdF's representative in the Czech Republic.

EdF and Skoda Praha are already working together at Mochovce. Under a scenario that calls for the completion of the Soviet-style plant with funding by the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, EdF would manage the project with Skoda Praha's help.

Under a second scenario, Skoda Praha and Russia would complete the nuclear plant, at a cost that is substantially less than the estimated DM 1.4 million (26 million Kc) asked for in the EdF proposal.

Gabe Toth, general director of Westinghouse in the Czech Republic, said that the company has "in the past expressed an interest in working with Skoda Praha on some long-term cooperative relationship, but how and what that would be is frankly undefined."

Toth said possibilities include a joint venture or a partnership.

Westinghouse is already teamed up with Skoda Praha for completion of the Czech Republic's Temelin nuclear power plant in southern Bohemia. The Czech company knows more about the design of the Soviet-designed plant than anyone except the Russians and is supplying much of the technology.

Like most of the international nuclear-engineering companies, EdF and Westinghouse are looking to the former Soviet Union for future business.

All Soviet-designed plants are considered unsafe by Western standards, and Skoda Praha's inside knowledge of the design of these plants could prove marketable.

A relationship with Skoda Praha, said Toth, "would give us an edge in working in the (former) Soviet bloc."

CTK Accused of Undercutting TASR's Prices

95CH0295A Prague PRAGUE POST in English 27 Jun 95 p 4

[Article by Jan Stojaspal: "Slovak News Agency Angry With CTK"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Raising accusations of unfair competition, the Slovak news agency TASR has announced plans to file an anti-monopoly complaint against its Czech rival, CTK.

The June 14 announcement came after CTK made a presentation of its news services to dozens of representatives of Slovak media and Slovak businesses. The presentation was held in Bratislava earlier that day.

Dusan Kleiman, general director of TASR, said that he has proof that the Czech news agency undercuts TASR's prices by as much as one-third. He also has accused CTK of not honoring TASR's exclusive right to distribute in Slovakia international wire-service coverage by foreign news agencies.

"I would have nothing against CTK if it were providing only its original coverage," Kleiman said. He said TASR will file the complaint with the Slovak Anti-Monopoly Office within a month.

Petr Holubec, editor-in-chief of Prague-based CTK, denied the accusations. According to Holubec, CTK competes in Slovakia on the basis of the quality and promptness of its service, not on price. He acknowledged that CTK uses wire-service reports from foreign news agencies but, he said, only as a basis for its own reporting. He said that his agency, therefore, is not breaking any exclusive-rights agreements.

CTK has about 200 subscribers to its news service in the Czech Republic and more than 20 in Slovakia. TASR has a total of 40 subscribers among the Slovak media. Before the 1993 breakup of the Czechoslovak federation, both agencies were part of the Czechoslovak News Agency.

Report by Agriculture Minister Lux Reviewed

95CH0288A Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 7 Jun 95 p 1

[Commentary by Jiri Psenicka: "Lux's Green Report"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The "Green Report," which was submitted by Minister Lux yesterday, summarizes the economic results of the agricultural sphere for last year.

The published numbers point to two basic trends: first, that the importance of food production from the standpoint of creating GDP is declining (below the level of all other postcommunist countries), and second, that an ever smaller part of the population is making its living in agriculture. Whereas in Poland, for example, every fourth citizen works in the fields and barns, and in Hungary every 10th one, in the Czech Republic only one in 20 does. In these indicators we are now at the level of Germany and the United States. A positive phenomenon is also the relatively strong growth of labor productivity and the increasing size of private farms. Fields with technical crops are becoming more numerous, and there is increasing production of healthier poultry.

It is very interesting that substantially better results are reported by independent farmers and companies than by agricultural cooperatives. Although cooperative enterprises continue to be the backbone of primary production, and not a few report respectable profits, the principles of cooperative democracy are probably

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tying the hands of many agricultural managers. The second reason for the reported losses could be the fact that cooperatives are still coping with the problem of restitutions.

Members of cooperatives are aware of this burden on the collective ownership. That is perhaps the reason why in a number of enterprises the so-called wild transformation took place. The principle of this "pragmatic swindle" is that the management of the cooperative together with part of the membership leave the original enterprise, take productive assets with them, and establish an entirely new firm freed of all obligations. Creditors, entitled persons, and everyone who did not join the new enterprise are left with nothing but tears. The state silently tolerates this form of thievery. But it is not the only property rights problem which is not talked about very much at press conferences. Still unresolved are the thousands of claims for restitution, and the privatization of state farms is still not finished. If an ordinary citizen uses only the criterion of economic indicators to evaluate the developments in agriculture, he must express satisfaction. The agricultural sector, even though as a whole it showed an accounting loss last year as well, is certainly moving in the right direction. In many indicators it has already managed to exceed the average of the European Union. And all of that with minimal subsidies and minimal intervention in the market by the government. Unfortunately, not everything is as rosy as Minister Lux presents it. Left behind on the rocky road of transformation are many who were cheated and robbed. But such facts are generally not included in "green reports"....

Physicians' Organizations Considering Strike

95CH0295C Prague PRAGUE POST in English 27 Jun 95 p 1

[Article by Josef Schneider: "Health Care at a Crossroads"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Czech medical system is in critical condition and close to collapse, according to several physicians' groups in the country.

Three organizations, representing the majority of Czech physicians, are coming closer together in considering a fall strike to advance their arguments.

David Rath, president of the Physicians' Club, has been leading the push for a strike to force parliament to institute changes that would increase physicians' wages. The Physicians' Chamber and the Medical Union have been more conservative, simply demanding changes to the current system.

But they say their pleas have fallen on deaf ears in parliament, and even the more restrained groups now say they wouldn't rule out a strike of some sort to push their agenda.

In a flurry of news conferences in mid-June, the Medical Union called a government proposal to increase tariffs by 10 percent "laughable," while the Physicians' Chamber demanded the resignation of Health Minister Ludek Rubas.

Chamber President Bohuslav Svoboda said that, in preelection campaigning, Rubas made 19 promises that would lead to 12 legislative changes. "What do we have? Four?" Svoboda asked. "They all should have been fulfilled by now."

Union President Petr Sucharda said that "politicians were elected to solve problems. We'll have to make it clear this is an important problem that they will have to deal with."

Svoboda warned that if health care collapses, it could destabilize that whole political system. "I worry about that."

Rubas could not be reached for comment. He was quoted in the daily MLADA FRONTA DNES as saying he had been naive when he set concrete timetables for change.

He was further quoted as saying that many of the legislative changes are in different stages of discussion and have not been abandoned.

Rubas has told reporters that he has no plans to resign.

The chamber and the union are joining the club in demanding pay increases of up to 100 percent. Unless the government moves to institute concrete changes that would lead to such increases, they have announced that a strike is an option, albeit an unattractive one.

"We hope it never gets to that," said Sucharda.

Svoboda said that a full-blown strike by doctors would be "very problematic" for the chamber. "There is an ethical problem for us."

But rank-and-file members of both groups seem to be somewhat more militant than their leaders.

About 300 members of the chamber recently held a daylong debate on the issue, with many members advocating sending strong signals to the government. After the sessions, Svoboda conceded that "if we can find a way to send a strong signal without jeopardizing patients," the leadership would consider it.

That could include one-day strikes not affecting emergency care.

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Sucharda pointed out that 24,000 physicians are currently on strike in Spain, "and I am sure no one's dying" as a result. "Doctors don't want to endanger patients' health."

Statistics Reflect Rise in Crime Victims

95CH0288C Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 7 Jun 95 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Every Fourth Czech Citizen Is a Victim of Crime"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Roughly every fourth citizen became the victim of some kind of crime during the past 12 months. Someone robbed him of something, assaulted him, or threatened him in other ways. This is shown by the result of the poll conducted by the Institute for the Study of Public Opinion.

The largest number of victims was found in towns of more than 20,000 inhabitants, which came to 35 percent. Their numbers increased against last year especially in towns from 20,000 to 100,000 inhabitants, from 29 to 35 percent, while in cities over 100,000 inhabitants their numbers did not rise significantly.

The greatest number of victims of crime were registered in the North Bohemia region and in Prague, 39 and 36 percent. Among the victims entrepreneurs and small businessmen accounted for 39 percent. As far as age is concerned, the least threatened group are retirees, who represent 24 percent.

Police action was evaluated as worse than a year ago, because the number of those who were satisfied with it fell from last year's 41 percent to this year's 35 percent. Cited as reason why 43 percent of respondents did not report the crimes was lack of trust in the police. This was the answer of 48 percent of those queried. About 28 percent considered the incident not very serious and 19 percent took care of it on the spot.

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President Kovac To Meet Hungarian Ethnic Leaders

LD2707231495 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Slovak President Michal Kovac has decided to invite the leaders of the Hungarian parliamentary parties—Bela Bugar [Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, MKDH], Miklos Duray [Coexistence], and Laszlo Nagy [Hungarian Civic Party, MOS]—to meet him in the next few days and brief him personally about the circumstances of some of their statements in the media after their return from the United States.

[Begin Kovac recording] [Passage omitted] Reacting to comments wondering why I have not thus far taken any position in this matter, I would like to say that the reason is that I really do not know details of this matter. I would like to say in general, however, that it is necessary to distinguish between the slander of a nation or a state and the criticism of the president, government, or parliament of the given state.

As regards the slander of a state or a nation, of course I have been prepared to reject it decisively and criticize it in the past, and I continue to be prepared to do so at present. As regards the criticism of a president, prime minister, or deputies, it is the right of every public official and every citizen to criticize them. I would appreciate it if this distinction is made now as well as in future. [end recording]

Article Views Debrecen Language Demonstration

AU2707173095 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 24 Jul 95 p 3

[Article by Julius Gembicky: "Why Is Vladimir Meciar Afraid of the Fall?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Just under a month ago, at a meeting involving the leaders of the governing parties in Trencianske Teplice, V. Meciar, J. Slota, and J. Luptak assured one another of the coalition's rock-solid cohesion. Despite differences in their attitudes toward certain sensitive issues, they did not acknowledge—in the interest of Slovakia—even the theoretical possibility of a schism within their quartet.

But, all of a sudden, like a bolt from the blue, the prevacation Slovak scene was shaken by the sneaky suspicion that the opposition intends to engineer another antigovernment putsch in parliament in September, and that with the assistance of the multibillionaire Soros and Slovakia's other foreign ill-wishers, the opposition had accumulated unbelievable sums to bribe at least eight of the coalition's deputies. As this suspicion was voiced by the "incorruptible" representatives of the Slovak National Party [SNS], who admittedly did not point the finger at anyone in particular, they focused their hunch about possible "treachery," according to the laws of iron logic, on the ranks of the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] or the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] itself.

At first, the "flabbergasted" Luptakites were only able to repeat their interest in holding the governing coalition together, because this is in young Slovakia's vital interest. A more conflicting response came from the HZDS. While Ivan Gasparovic, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NR SR], proclaimed publicly that he has no inkling of any planned putsch, the chairman of its Foreign Committee, Dusan Slobodnik, in interpellations at the end of the 8th NR SR session, rejected the ironizing of this danger by certain political commentators, specifically myself.

As the opposition has denied unanimously that it is involved in a September plot—at most, it admits that nebulous rumors about growing disputes within the ZRS had reached it—justifiably, the question pops up: Who can be interested in making sure that, during the holidays, our society also listens to the grass grow, and why?

The increasing problems between the HZDS and the ever-more-presumptuous SNS could be the first possible reason for regrouping the governing coalition. The prime minister and HZDS chairman does not appreciate the positions of some of the coalition nationalists, which render impossible greater domestic and foreign acceptability for government policy. According to the evasive responses of V. Meciar himself, it is possible to surmise that in many respects he is not in agreement with the conduct of his education minister, E. Slavkovska, who is pushing almost too zealously for alternative education to be put into practice as of the new school year. At the same time, Slavkovska considers the only panacea for improving the quality of education to be the obligation to learn by heart the text of the Declaration of Sovereignty and the preamble to our Constitution. Apart from this, she tarnished his cabinet's reputation by taking part in the opening of an exhibition on Altotting, a place of pilgrimage where J. Tiso was imprisoned.

Very tense relations also prevail between the SNS and the HZDS in the Defense Ministry, tensions that are being projected into a tacit but all the more bitter struggle for influence involving Minister J. Sitek (SNS), office head J. Repassky, who, as one of the leading officials in the Association of Slovak Soldiers, was a harsh critic of former Federal and Slovak Defense Minister I. Andrejcak, and State Secretary J. Gajdos. So

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that the HZDS can limit as much as possible the SNS's room for maneuvering in the military sphere and that of Armex chief V. Moric (SNS), who, according to some reports, is even venturing to unseat Economy Minister J. Ducky in selling arms, the DMD [initial letters of the towns Dubnica, Martin, and Detva] holding company of Slovak producers of special technology should be established on 1 September to act as a counterweight. This company will probably be managed by former Finance Minister J. Toth. That is: In this lucrative but slippery terrain, a battle is being waged by two coalition entities over control of our arms production and trade. And, hand on heart, in this sensitive zone, the HZDS is admittedly more level-headed.

Aside from this, whether we like it or not, the parliament will not avoid the ratification of the Slovak-Hungarian treaty in the fall. The positions of the two aforementioned coalition partners also differ here. The SNS's resistance to ratifying the treaty could just about be defended at home, but abroad it is evidently diminishing the credibility of Meciar's cabinet and the value of his Paris signature on the treaty. Perhaps, this is also why none of the SNS ministers is in V. Meciar's party, a party that departs this week on a visit to Romania—with which, following the signing of the treaty with Hungary, we would also like to coordinate certain policies in relation to the Hungarian ethnic minority. Perhaps, in this tandem, it will also be more efficient to look for appropriate solutions in connection with the results of the "demonstration against the language war," which the World Union of Hungarians and other organizations are planning in the town of Debrecen in Hungary. Apart from the Vojvodina representatives of the Hungarian minority in Yugoslavia and the Transylvanians from Romania, our Egyutteles also intends to send its representatives, led by M. Duray, to this "Greater Hungarian" forum.

No one likes to be a harbinger of doom, but these antievents create fertile ground for whipping up tension and mistrust between the Hungarians' minority communities and the neighboring states' majority peoples.

The xenophobic reactions of our Hungarians, including the diplomatic faux pas committed by the Hungarian Coalition's representatives upon their return from Washington, certainly do not contribute to success in the process of ratifying the Slovak-Hungarian basic treaty. On the contrary, they lessen the chances of Slovakia, Romania, and Hungary's incorporating themselves into the Euroatlantic security, economic, and political structures.

If this were someone's final objective, it would represent the greatest threat to all of the peoples in this geopolitical region.

Also, the differing positions of the individual entities in the Hungarian Coalition may crack on this tough nut. So far, Nagy's Hungarian Civic Party has expressed a negative attitude toward participating in Debrecen; Bugar's Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement is also reluctant. The tussle over Duray's apology to the U.S. Embassy and the Clinton administration, which took his coalition partners by surprise, as well as the degree of his participation in the Debrecen "demonstration," may in the final analysis also cause a split in this heretofore artificially united grouping, and accelerate the process of the crystallization of the Slovak Hungarians' ethnic parties on civic and standard principles.

The nationalist currents present between Slovaks and Hungarians would be eliminated naturally, and they would find themselves on the edge of our political spectrum. Such a development would not render it impossible for the current or future governing coalition or opposition to incorporate, coalitionally, the Slovak Hungarians into the government or opposition camp with complete acceptance. If such a scheme fits in with Soros's concept for an open society, there is no reason to turn him into a bogeyman in Slovakia, or even to make him a persona non grata. If he finances and supports the ideal of a Greater Hungary, then he will issue this extreme document himself.

Postponement of 'Alternative Education' Denied

AU2707164595 Bratislava SME in Slovak 26 Jul 95 p 1

[Article by "(ch)": "Alternative Education Is Not Being Postponed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—This is disinformation, Lydia Bencova, the director of the Education Ministry department who deals with schools in the ethnically mixed regions, told us in connection with the reports that appeared following Education Minister Eva Slavkovska's visit to Hungary. According to these reports, the Ministry is postponing alternative education. Alternative education ensues from the government's policy statement; therefore, the Ministry is not backing away from it. However, alternative education will not be introduced by force. If five to eight pupils register, a class will divide in certain subjects. One group will be taught in Slovak; the other in the school's language of instruction. As of September, alternative education will be introduced in about 30 kindergartens with Hungarian

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as the language of instruction. The teachers will communicate with the children in Slovak for 28 hours per week.

Spokesman on Return of Laws to Parliament

LD2707221695 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 27 Jul 95

[Interview with presidential spokesman Vladimir Stefko by Jirina Bulakova; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Bulakova] What is the president's final decision on the four economic laws adopted by the parliament at its last session, the eighth session? [passage omitted] What is the principal idea or philosophy behind returning these laws to the parliament?

[Stefko] We might say that the fundamental philosophy is that these laws directly contradict the Onstitution of the Slovak Republic on a number of points. For instance, the Constitution declares equality regarding assets and their protection, while some of these laws give preference to the state. This means that a certain form of state dirigisme is emerging in our country again. The president's principal objection to many laws is that the rules of the game are being changed while the game is in progress.

[Bulakova] These are not the first laws the president has returned to the parliament for reconsideration. His previous comments have failed to get the support of the majority of the deputies and the laws were adopted in their original form. Do you think it will be different this time?

[Stefko] The president naturally does not suffer the illusion that it will be different this time; but in his view it is his duty as a supreme constitutional official to draw the parliament's attention to (?certain) passages in the laws it adopted. In this way he is at the same time acquainting the general public with his decision and, above all, with the reasons for making it.

On the other hand, the president is not giving up hope that the parliament will reflect on these laws and accept at least some of his comments. [passage omitted]

[Bulakova] Does the president not intend to attend the parliament session that will discuss the law amendments he returned to them?

[Stefko] We can expect the president to address the parliament to explain his fundamental position. He is definitively not pleased by the fact that he must return some laws. Just the opposite—and he would like to cooperate in the process of formulating them, thus avoiding possible consequences and collisions when laws are being adopted and after their adoption.

Final Phase of MiG-21 Dismantlement Begins

LD2707171395 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1500 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The final phase of dismantling Slovak Air Force MiG-21 planes began in Sliac today under the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty [CFE] and in the presence of a Canadian mixed inspection team, in which France, Germany, and Slovakia are also represented. Once the dismantling is over, the Slovak Air Force will have 115 combat planes allowed under the treaty.

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Official on Talks With U.S. Air Force Chief

LD2807100295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0500 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Presenter] The U.S. Secretary of the Air Force [Sheila Widnall] is holding talks in Hungary. Istvan Fodor, political state secretary for the Defense Ministry, is on the line. Good morning, Mr. Fodor. The U.S. delegation's visit here has not been greatly publicized. [passage omitted] What is the reason for this? Are you discussing top secret issues?

[Fodor] We did not discuss secret issues at all. We reviewed American-Hungarian bilateral issues, we spoke of topical political questions and specifically of the cooperation between the Department of the Air Force and the Hungarian Army. This began at the end of last year with the installation of the friend-or-foe identification system in our fighter planes. The next stage of this program is the building of the national airspace sovereignty center.

Let me recall that two years ago President Clinton offered a $25 million support to the countries of the region for the modernization of airspace management. From this Hungary will receive $6.25 million, that is approximately 1 billion forints [Ft]. The government adopted at its session on 26 July the proposed National Assembly resolution, according to which this programme will begin next year with a tender invitation. We plan to spend some Ft20 billion on this program. I would like to add that this modernization does not only nor primarily serve the purposes of military aviation, rather a much more sensible airspace management, the distribution of the airspace in a much more sensible way between civil and military air traffic. This way the capacity of civil air traffic will double or triple. This is its real purpose.

[Presenter] Mr. State Secretary, did you discuss the Bosnian crisis with the U.S. secretary of the Air Force? Did you mention that cooperation between Hungary and NATO may be extended, since the Hungarian airspace has often been mentioned in this matter?

[Fodor] The Bosnian crisis was mentioned, but there was no mention of any need for extended cooperation. The cooperation in its current form is working satisfactorily. This means that AWACS planes carry out patrol in Hungary's airspace. They do not need us to take on any further roles.

[Presenter] So the point is that the announced further NATO air strikes will not mean a new role for Hungary.

[Fodor] They do not mean any kind of new role for us.

[Presenter] Thank you for talking to us.

[Fodor] Thank you.

World Federation of Hungarians Organizes Rally

AU2707181295 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1600 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A few minutes ago, in the large Calvinist Church in Debrecen, Hungary, the protest rally organized by the World Federation of Hungarians was still in progress. The protest action is taking place under the motto "Protest Against the Language War."

According to the organizers of the rally, which is attended by representatives of the ethnic Hungarians in Romania, Ukraine, Slovakia, and Serbia, the action is intended to protect the rights of the Hungarian minorities living beyond Hungary's borders.

Among the personalities who made speeches were Laszlo Tokes, honorary president of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania], who asserted that, in Romania, they legalized anti-democratic laws directed against the ethnic minorities and war was declared against the Hungarian language. An unprecedented power is out to crush us, said Reformed Bishop Tokes, referring to a so-called assimilation policy threatening the very existence of the ethnic Hungarians in Romania.

Furthermore, he said that the Romanian Education Bill grossly violates the interests of the ethnic Hungarian and that the promises made by the rulers, referring to ethnic minority rights, have not been kept.

Bishop Tokes also pointed out that the Romanian-Hungarian basic treaty cannot be signed as long as Transylvania, as he put it, is under the military occupation of the majority population and [Romanian President] Ion Iliescu's goal is to obstruct the use of the Hungarian language in Transylvania.

Concluding his speech, Tokes called on the ethnic Hungarians living in this region of Europe to jointly find a way out of their current situation.

Next, UDMR Chairman Bela Marko presented the situation of the ethnic Hungarians in Romania, where, quote, by means of the Education Bill, a cultural genocide is taking place and the souls of the members of the Hungarian minority are being destroyed, unquote.

Talking about the ethnic Hungarians living in the neighboring countries, Marko asserted that they all belong to the same nation because they speak the same language, and called the Hungarians throughout the world to be united. We are sufficiently strong to prevent them from banning the Hungarian language from schools, said the UDMR chairman.

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Chairman Csoori Opens Rally

LD2707211995 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1400 GMT 27 Jul 95

[Opening speech by Sandor Csoori, chairman of the World Federation of Hungarians, at a meeting to protest education and language laws recently adopted in Romania and Slovakia, in Debrecen—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Esteemed rally, dear friends. [passage omitted] During the past 70 years we have had no wins whatsoever, only losses—losses of people, land, schools, and property with our history having been levelled. [passage omitted] In Trianon they could draw the border between Salonta and Nagykoros, but the Toldi of Arany, [Janos, Hungarian poet in 19th century, born in Salonta], could not be divided by any new border. However, if the mother tongue is degraded even further than at present with a state language extended to several school subjects, a cultural genocide could start. [passage omitted] He who launches an attack against the mother tongue, no matter how cunning the justification is, commits an attack against universal interests, against the Europe of yesterday, today, and tomorrow.

We have come here to Debrecen to protest on our behalf and on behalf of a nation awaiting revival, in order that no language wars, which entail unnecessary destructions and pains, can break out in Slovakia, Vojvodina, or Romania. Thus, our presence here is not a declaration of war to anyone, it is only self defense and solidarity. [passage omitted]

Esteemed rally. Real peace on a moral ground can only be achieved between equal partners. Not even false peace is possible between winner and loser. So far the Hungarian national communities have not applied nonpeaceful means in any country. When they fought, they always fought with legal means. It is a moral duty for us, the Hungarians of the mother country, the World Federation of Hungarians, to support this battle of theirs.

Bishop Tokes Addresses Rally

LD2707213895 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1400 GMT 27 Jul 95

[Speech by Bishop Laszlo Tokes, honorary chairman of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR), at a meeting to protest education and language laws recently adopted in Romania and Slovakia, in Debrecen—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Thank you. [passage omitted] The truth is that far from the oft-mentioned historical reconciliation, the nationalist governments of our neighboring countries still have not given up their assimilation policy that they have been practicing for 75 years, and they want to finalize their territorial gains sanctioned by the Paris Peace Treaties, by completely assimilating the Hungarian minority that is under their power. They do this despite the fact that there is not one single significant political force in the Carpathian Basin and the world that will have territorial claims against the countries concerned, and both the ethnic Hungarian minority communities and the mother country recognize without reservation the current borders of Romania and Slovakia. In fact, Hungary is prepared to sanctify the status quo in the framework of bilateral basic treaties.

The new Romanian education law, the Slovak language bill, and the forced practice of the implementation of alternative education have finally removed the mask from the painstakingly created good image of the aforementioned countries. [passage omitted] The new nationalist laws mean a murderous attempt against the whole of our nation. Their rules, which appear under a democratic disguise, threaten our existence in the long term. The totalitarian, dictatorial reorganization's telling manifestations contradict the loudly advertised democratic transformation, the European norms that are adopted under pretense, and basic human and community rights. They jeopardize peace and security to the north, northwest of Bosnia, they mean an open provocation against European integration and stability. They almost negate the Slovak-Hungarian Basic Treaty and can hinder the signing of the treaty with Romania.

The statements of certain Romanian, Slovak, and even Hungarian leading politicians that speak of Romanian-Hungarian and Hungarian-Slovak rapprochement, of the possibilities of progress, and of the improvement of relations now, when in the aforementioned countries an unparalleled nationalist joint attack is in progress against the abandoned ethnic Hungarians, are lies or, at best, well-meaning but false. [applause]

My dear friends, can we speak of excellent Romanian-Hungarian military cooperation at a time when virtual military and police occupation is taking place in the remaining Transylvanian areas and settlements populated mainly by Hungarians? [applause] Can we consider the chances of the Basic Treaty or discuss the interpretation of Recommendation No. 1201 when President Iliescu wants to seal the fate of Hungarian-language education of 1,000 years in Transylvania? [applause] The fact that, out of the some 1,500 schools owned by the churches in Romania before the communist nationalization, not one has been returned to its rightful owners so far, is a rude insult to the freedom of religion, which parades on paper. [applause] In fact, the new education law practically renationalizes these buildings. What is this, if not collective theft lifted to the ranks of politics? [applause]

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In our view the agreement between the majority Romanians and the minority Hungarians is an indispensable precondition of historical reconciliation and the signing of the Basic Treaty. We have been advocating this for years in vain with good intention. We urge Romanian-Hungarian dialogue and the convening of a bilateral roundtable without preconditions. This is why we gathered here and now in the Debrecen church, to make it clear that the issue of minority rights is a national and international issue. The freedom of our schools and the use of our mother tongue are not simply Romanian or Slovak internal issues, and cannot be subject to negotiation under any circumstances. [applause] These issues must be solved in the framework of interstate and European relations, with the democratic participation of the Hungarian minorities.

The Hungarian churches of Romania, the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], and the Hungarian society of our country act with joint forces against the new Romanian education law, which threatens the existence of our ethnic community. The unified support of the ethnic Hungarians of Transylvania lends a solid foundation to our stand. This is proven by our education bill proposal that was signed by some 500,000 people last year. It is our inalienable, democratic, and human right to decide independently and freely as tax-paying citizens of Romania on the education of our own children. [applause] We also offer fellowship with the Hungarians of the upper regions [areas in south Slovakia that belonged to Hungary before 1920] in their fight for these rights. The latest cases of regular abuses of majority power and parliamentary pseudodemocracy convince us even more that, without operational minority autonomies of a suitable level and form, we continue to be at the mercy of oppression by the majority, and we have no chance of preserving our national and religious identity. [passage omitted]

Let the spirit of this church urge us and our Romanian and Slovak brothers to find the way out of this difficult situation. However, in the house of God, first of all, and finally, let us take to heart the guidance and creed in the Bible: So I will turn to the Almighty. I will trust my fate to God. Amen.

Coexistence Chairman Speaks

LD2707204795 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1400 GMT 27 Jul 95

[Speech by Miklos Duray, chairman of the Coexistence Movement, at a meeting to protest education and language laws recently adopted in Romania and Slovakia, in Debrecen—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Young Hungarians of the upper regions [felvidek, areas now belonging to southern Slovakia] have not been able to partake in university education in their mother tongue for 77 years. Fifty years ago our schools, and our language too, were banned for years. We were forced to disavow our nation half a century ago. From the day that the authorities were compelled to reduce the pressure on us and allow us to speak our language, and to open our school gates again, they preoccupied themselves with regaining what they had been compelled to surrender. [passage omitted]

On each occasion that they wove grand plans for our annihilation, they thought it would be the final blow. On this occasion, the democratically elected government is preparing for an attack of this type. There has not been such a resolute attack on our national culture, on our schools, for decades, and there have not been such thorough preparations to exterminate our language. [applause]

The bastions of our culture, which we developed with great effort under communist rule, cannot be maintained because of the withdrawal of funds—at least this is what is said. There is practically no Hungarian professional cultural institution in Slovakia; apart from the two Hungarian theaters, there is no Hungarian cultural superstructure—only the occasional, outstanding individual performance which also goes against plans.

They again want to exclude the Hungarian language from our schools which we protected with body and soul. The government behaves like a roadside robber. [applause] It says that the Hungarian language would be surrendered voluntarily. In the meantime it threatens the teachers who express different opinions, and removes the headteachers who show opposition. It replaces them with Slovaks who do not know Hungarian and who hate us. [applause]

When will the police occupy family homes—under the pretext of conducting an opinion poll—in order to force the parents to assent voluntarily to rejecting the Hungarian language? [applause]

The Slovak education minister spoke publicly in Budapest a few days ago, on 24 July, and she said that teaching in the Slovak language would not be introduced in the Hungarian schools this autumn after all, because this had been requested by so few Hungarian parents. We had already praised the Slovak minister, and said that right had gained the upper hand, when this was denied one day later by the ministry spokesperson in

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Pozsony [Bratislava]—and two days afterwards by the education minister herself. [applause]

Well, what is this, if not a total failure to be trustworthy and correct? [applause]

But all this is dwarfed by the language law which is being prepared and which will ban the Hungarian language from the office corridors. It will ban the hospital doctors from speaking in Hungarian to a dying patient. It will instruct the Hungarian actors to speak their parts in Slovak at first. It will make it clear that the language of teaching and examination in every school, including private schools, can be Slovak only, and that textbooks can be published in Slovak only. According to the proposal, a central language police [koezponti nyelvrendoerseg] will be set up to monitor the observance of the law.

If this draft were to be enacted into law, it would simplify everything in one blow, because it would embody, in one framework, all of the murderous plans formulated to date against the language and culture of the Hungarians in Slovakia. [applause]

Would this be, therefore, the most highly developed stage of linguistic imperialism, cultural fascism? [applause]

Even the plans have a destructive effect, because they arouse hatred and fear. They become an important political driving force and they distance us from the possibility of compromise, from living peacefully. The wish for equal rights and equality remains a vain fantasy in the shadow of these plans. We virtually hear Europe's gate being shut in our face. [applause]

Naturally, no one can be forced to be European—if he cannot and does not want to be so. But let no one...[interrupted by applause] but let no one force us, for the third time this century, to be swept out of the European community, to which the Hungarians have belonged since the time of King Stephen. [applause]

There are also hopeful signs, however—not our situation, but our existence, which has always disproved those who opposed us with malicious intentions. The Hungarians of the upper regions have never abandoned the land of their birth—not even when they were driven away or deported. Those who were able to do so returned. Over three generations, our lives have been characterized by the struggle for our language and our schools. We have always managed to force the authorities planning to use force into a retreat. We again were victorious in the first phase of the current struggle. [applause]

If the attack continues, however, there will be disobedience. [applause]

The Hungarians of the upper regions over the past 77 years have innumerable times shown their perseverance and persistence, and they have demonstrated that they do not judge the Slovaks who live with us on the basis of those who trespass against us. The Hungarians of the upper regions never waged their struggle against the Slovaks, but acted in their own defense so that this should not lead to harm to others. [applause]

From this forum, I greet the ever-increasing camp of Slovaks who understand our struggle, who are in solidarity with us, and who know that this struggle is for them, too, and we must complete it together. [applause]

Finally, from this forum I ask those Slovaks who have lost their bearings not to follow their compatriots wallowing in chauvinist euphoria. [applause] There is another solution—equality, partnership between equal communities, recognition of our rights to autonomy [applause], a mutual respect for one another's values, and the mutual knowledge—and not suppression—of one another's language. [passage omitted]

UDMR Leader Delivers Speech

LD2707220395 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1400 GMT 27 Jul 95

[Speech by Bela Marko, chairman of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR), at a meeting to protest education and language laws recently adopted in Romania and Slovakia, in Debrecen—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Esteemed Rally, Hungarians from Hungary and beyond the borders. [passage omitted] Will our language continue to exist? Is it certain that our mother tongue will continue to exist among the hills of Transylvania? [passage omitted] Many people were shocked by the expression that we used not long ago in connection with the Romanian education law, that is, cultural genocide. I wish we did not have to use such expressions. I wish it were not true that the aim of this law is to eliminate slowly, but steadily, a culture, a mother tongue, a national identity.

Europe, the West, which is so proud of its own democracy, should also notice what is happening here. It should realize that he who covers up problems will aggravate them. [passage omitted]

Many people are asking why we chose Debrecen for the venue of the rally, because everyone has his own problems in his own country. The problem we are now speaking about is common. [passage omitted] We all belong to the same nation, we all insist on the same mother tongue.

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Perhaps we will have to face various nationwide hysteria and rage more and more often. The intention is sadly the same in Kosice or Cluj, and although the variety of ideas for language destruction is extremely large, it is about the same thing everywhere: Forget your mother tongue, lose your faith. This destruction has been going on not just for a year or two, but for more than 75 years. We must protest. [passage omitted]

Protesting is not enough, we also need hope. We have a common history that has shown that we have always managed to recover and preserve our identity in any difficult situation. I believe that now we also have the power and the will not to let the Hungarian language be ousted from our schools.

That is why cooperation is necessary, that is why we have to raise our voice, that is why we must not let go of each other's hands.

Further on Marko's Speech

AU2807091295 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 27 Jul 95

["Exclusive" Interview with Bela Marko, president of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR), by Bucharest Radio special correspondent Stelian Radu Cacuci in Debrecen on 27 July—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Cacuci] Mr. Bela Marko, exclusively for Bucharest Radio Romania, I would like to ask you to summarize the speech you made here, at the great Calvinist Church in Debrecen. I would also like you to refer to the significance of this rally.

[Marko] Actually, in my speech, I referred, of course, to the situation of the ethnic Hungarian community living in Romania, and especially to the importance of this assembly, because the people who attended it, be they Hungarians from Hungary, or ethnic Hungarians from Slovakia, Vojvodina in Serbia, or Transylvania in Romania, have to protest together certain intents that actually target generally important and valid values for the entire Hungarian nation, wherever its members may live. This implicitly means that the violation of certain rights of the ethnic Hungarians living in Transylvania, more precisely the education in their mother tongue, also violates the rights of other ethnic Hungarians, who live outside Romania.

[Cacuci] Please, refer to the memorandum that was presented by Mr. Laszlo Dobos.

[Marko] Actually, that memorandum is an appeal, a call protesting such attempts or intents that, in the case of Romania, manifested themselves by means of recently passed Education Law and, in the case of Slovakia, by means of a draft bill regulating the use of the official language. Thus, the memorandum is an inventory of all these problems and, at the same time, an appeal addressed to the European institutions, as well as to the Hungarian Government calling for it to watch over the settlement of these problems.

[Cacuci] Thank you.

Horn's Foreign Policy Adviser Steps Down

AU2707132495 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 27 Jul 95 p 3

[Article by "D.P.": "Horn's Foreign Affairs Adviser Is Leaving—Istvan Horvath Makes Denial"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Istvan Horvath, Prime Minister Gyula Horn's foreign policy adviser, has resigned. He has denied leaving his position due to personal conflicts. He said that a year ago he had accepted the role of foreign policy adviser without any obligations or time limits, and the prime minister simply does not need his advice any more. He indicated that his appointment as prime ministerial adviser had strengthened the confidence of leading German financial and political circles.

Horvath, a former ambassador to Bonn, denied being personally involved in the privatization of the Hungarian Telecommunications Enterprise [MATAV].

In the future Horvath will be an adviser for Deutsche Telekom, which has interest in MATAV's privatization.

[Box p 3]

Gyula Horn's four-man personal advisory team was formed in August 1994. According to the commission contract made with the Prime Minister's Office, the members' monthly payment is 56,000 forints gross. The four personal advisers are as follows:

—Istvan Matko, former journalist, media expert, chairman and general director of the M and H Communications company;

—Peter Popper, psychologist;

—Istvan Horvath, former ambassador to Bonn and former member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee; and

—Tamas Revesz, lawyer, head of the Legal History Faculty of the Lorand Eotvos University of Arts and Sciences.

The members of Horn's advisory body are as follows:

Peter Medgyessy (chairman), Istvan Banfalvi, Andras Brody (resigned on 23 September 1994), Csaba Gombar (resigned on 23 September 1994), Istvan Hetenyi, Andras Inotai, Erno Kemenes, Laszlo Lengyel (resigned

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on 23 September 1994), Zita Maria Petsching (resigned on 4 October 1994), Istvan Tamas, and Andras Vertes.

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Butrus-Ghali Comments on Delegation of Powers

NC2707192095 London MBC Television in Arabic 1800 GMT 27 Jul 95

[Interview with UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali by Rula Amin at the United Nations in New York on 27 Jul—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Amin] Yesterday, you delegated powers to military commanders in Bosnia. Why did you decide to do this?

[Butrus-Ghali] It was due to the decisions adopted by NATO.

[Amin] Why?

[Butrus-Ghali] We hope that further military (?influence) can achieve a political settlement to this crisis. Thank you.

UN Spokesman on Zepa, Bihac, Air Power

BR2707150095 Hilversum Nederland-1 Television Network in Dutch 1800 GMT 26 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer Joop Van Zijl] Bihac threatened, Zepa taken; to what extent does UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] influence the situation in Zepa? What about the refugees, men, fighters? Just before this newscast, I talked over the phone with Lieutenant Colonel Vernon, the UN spokesman in Sarajevo.

[Begin recording] [Van Zijl, in English] Mr. Vernon, good evening. Dutch soldiers were powerless to prevent the separation of the men older than 16 years from the others in Srebrenica. They witnessed atrocities, and there are still 7,000 people missing, according to [UN human rights rapporteur] Mr. Mazowiecki. What is your impression of the cleansing of Zepa?

[Vernon, in English] Well, firstly in Zepa, one of the things we have been able to achieve is putting UN personnel into Zepa and the evacuation of the civilian population, the women, the children, and the sick, is being escorted by UN personnel from Zepa north to the confrontation line at Kladanj. We were less able to achieve that at Srebrenica, so that should ensure less humanitarian abuse of the civilian population.

[Van Zijl] But what about the men. How can you prevent the Srebrenica scenario for Zepa, because once again, General Mladic, he has all the tools in his hands.

[Vernon] That is a fair point. As yet the Bosnian Government Army has not actually surrendered in Zepa. They have moved up in the hills north of it, and there are still negotiations going on between the two sides as to whether they will surrender or not. So we are not yet at that stage, but clearly, it is a concern to us. There is a legitimate point on both sides that men at arms under the Geneva Convention can be taken as prisoners of war, but, when taken as POW's, the Geneva Convention should then be applied, and it is that aspect that we are particularly keen to see adhered to.

[Van Zijl] Zepa men are supposed to be exchanged for the Serbs held by the Muslims, but, with all respect, do you believe the Serbs will respect international humanitarian laws this time?

[Vernon] We are trying to ensure they do and the way we will try to do it is, as we have done with the women and children this time, to ensure that we have UN presence on the ground to mediate and to monitor and therefore ensure that [the convention] is adhered to.

[Van Zijl] Last week's London meeting agreed on a decisive response, which could include air power, if the Bosnian Serbs attack Gorazde. Is the situation in Bihac not even more urgent, and how does UNPROFOR deal with this threat?

[Vernon] Well, I would point out that we have always had the ability to use air power under our present mandate, and that has not changed. But I still make the point, we have available to us in relation to the safe areas, the other two safe areas, three in fact, Bihac, Gorazde, and Sarajevo, the ability to use air power should it be merited against the wide array of factors that determine that.

[Van Zijl] Mr. Vernon, thank you very much for this information in the eight o'clock news. [end recording]

ICO Leader Discusses Embargo, Peacekeeping

NC2707204095 London MBC Television in Arabic 1800 GMT 27 Jul 95

[Statement by Ahmad al-Ghabid, secretary general of the Islamic Conference Organization, in Jeddah; date not given—al-Ghabid in French with superimposed Arabic translation]

[FBIS Translated Text] The situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina is serious. It has developed from attacking Bosnian cities and villages to occupying UN-declared safe havens. This happened in Srebrenica and in Zepa yesterday, where Bosnian soldiers were disarmed by the United Nations. Also, those who fled the Serbian forces' atrocity were attacked.

Other safe havens, such as Gorazde or Sarajevo, where pressure and the blockade have been maintained a long time, are also being attacked. Because of these aggressions, we expected the recent London conference to adopt effective measures to protect the safe areas.

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The conference did adopt some positive measures, but now they must be implemented.

In the meantime, the ICO Ministerial Contact Group on Bosnia-Herzegovina has met. We called on the United Nations to accept full responsibility. Regarding this, we see the need for positive measures, including the lifting of the arms embargo on the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which we consider illegal. This is a sound position that the ICO adopted some time ago.

As ICO members, we do not see ourselves as bound by this resolution. If the United Nations believes otherwise, it should prove that this resolution is legitimate through the International Court of Justice.

We must help our brothers in Bosnia with all available means, financially, materially, and even militarily, to bolster their steadfastness and protect their independence and territorial integrity. We also see the need for the Islamic countries participating in peacekeeping mission, the UN Protection Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina, to coordinate. We must have a say in these forces' operation.

Presidency on U.S. Senate Vote on Arms Embargo

AU2707184695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina today held an extraordinary session at which it discussed the newly arisen situation following the voting in the U.S. Senate to lift the embargo.

President Izetbegovic briefed the Presidency on the decision that Prime Minister Silajdzic is to travel to Washington to determine all the implications of the decision of the U.S. legislative body through direct contacts with the U.S. Administration and representatives of Congress.

In his talks with U.S. officials, Prime Minister Silajdzic will also repeat our energetic demand for air strikes to stop the Chetnik aggression on the protected area of Bihac.

At today's session, the Presidency also discussed other matters within its sphere of authority, and made appropriate decisions.

EU Mediator Bildt Comments on Lifting of Embargo

LD2707193395 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The lifting of the arms embargo on imports of arms to Bosnia would cause an even deeper and more brutal conflict, EU peace mediator Carl Bildt said at Split airport after a meeting in Naples with NATO commanders for southern Europe. [passage omitted]

Peace cannot be imposed by the international community, the EU, United Nations, or Contact Group. It can only be achieved through a mutual agreement of the peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bildt said, leaving for Sarajevo for a meeting with President Alija Izetbegovic and General Rupert Smith.

Views Peace Negotiations

MS2707093895 London BBC Television Network in English 2130 GMT 26 Jul 95

[Interview with EU peace negotiator Carl Bildt by Jeremy Paxman; Bildt in London, Paxman in studio; from the "Newsnight" broadcast—recorded]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Paxman] Earlier I spoke to Carl Bildt, the EU negotiator in Bosnia and I asked him how close he thought the Bosnian Serbs were to achieving their war aims?

[Bildt] No I don't think they are because their war aim is clearly to get a political settlement. They might be in military terms fairly satisfied with a number of things, but I don't think they can be satisfied until there is a political settlement. And that is why it is so important to get a political process going also to satisfy the concerns that are there from the Bosnian Serb side eventually.

[Paxman] How close do you imagine that Mr. Milosevic may be to recognizing the Bosnian government?

[Bildt] Well, we are working on that. I think that's a key aspect of the overall political strategy that we have. I mean if he can recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina within it's internationally recognized borders I think that would be a significant step, and bring Yugoslavia back to business, as well, a normal Yugoslavia. And I would hope that we would be able to move in that direction within the not too distant future; that's somewhat dependent upon what is happening in Bosnia itself in terms of military activities.

[Paxman] Has he given you any indication that he's on the brink of being prepared to recognize Bosnia?

[Bildt] Well, he's obviously given me a lot of indications, and I give him a lot of indications but we aren't there quite yet. It's all linked very much to what's happening in Bosnia, because clearly we are now, I mean the talks with Belgrade have been somewhat overshadowed by events in Bosnia itself, and let's see what happens during the next few weeks. We have some good signs, in terms of convoys to Gorazde. We haven't had

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that for a long time, in terms of the [word indistinct] group being opened to UNPROFOR and UNHCR and convoys rolling in to Sarajevo now and to an extent they haven't being doing for quite some time. Let's keep that up, and let's be certain there aren't any attacks against Bihac, Tuzla, the safe areas. Then I hope we can proceed along the political path as well.

[Paxman] Have you received any guarantees about there being no Bosnian Serb attacks on Gorazde as the Russian's are suggesting they may have got an undertaking on?

[Bildt] Well, I think guarantee is not a word that I would use when it comes to anything relating to what is happening there, but the fact that there was an agreement concluded last Wednesday between General Mladic and General Rupert Smith concerning access to Gorazde for military as well as humanitarian convoys was a good sign, and those convoys are now arriving there. He listened very carefully, General Mladic, to the message that was delivered to him Sunday night by the air force generals and marshals coming from the key Western countries. I would expect him to be very, very careful indeed concerning Gorazde.

[Paxman] But isn't the problem for you that as a negotiator, someone who believes in diplomacy and negotiation, you simply can't believe a word any of these people say?

[Bildt] Well, but you have to look at their objective interest as well, and if he agrees to send, to let us send, convoys to Gorazde I think that's a good sign. Then he knows that we are serious when we are talking about being prepared to take very substantial military action.

Silajdzic Warns Against 'European Fundamentalism'

AU2807101495 Vienna KURIER in German 28 Jul 95 p 5

["Exclusive" interview with Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by Livia Klingl in Sarajevo; date not given: "Haris Silajdzic in an Exclusive Interview With KURIER: 'We Expect Help Only From God'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] When the news of the lifting of the arms embargo arrived, he was encouraged for a moment. In every other respect, Bosnia's head of government Haris Silajdzic seemed resigned in an exclusive interview with KURIER. Silajdzic has called on the Croats for help to avert the worst from Bihac: "We hope that they will do their part of the work."

[Klingl] After the fall of Srebrenica and Zepa, do you believe that the safe zones of Gorazde and Bihac will now indeed be turned into safe zones?

[Silajdzic] We must talk about Bihac. It is under a most severe attack. The Serbs have 25,000 soldiers there. They come directly from Serbia. The Serb regime is openly supporting them. There is no coordination between the Serbs in Croatia, Bosnia, and the center in Belgrade.

[Klingl] NATO has uttered threats in the case of Gorazde. At the same time Bihac is being attacked. Is this always the same game, that the world focuses completely on one point while Karadzic's Serbs attack another one?

[Silajdzic] Obviously, this is the case. I am very worried about the situation in Bihac. They lack artillery and ammunition. We do not know what the London conference meant. They talked about Gorazde, thus, there will be a problem in Bihac.

[Klingl] Do you believe that NATO will carry out air strikes?

[Silajdzic] We are trying to achieve this. But only those countries that are poor and cannot help us want to support us.

[Klingl] What about the Muslim countries?

[Silajdzic] They do what they can. But much more needs to be done.

[Klingl] They are being stopped by the so-called civilized world?

[Silajdzic] Sometimes, in the United Nations for instance. These countries offered many Blue Helmet soldiers, but the UN secretary general was not pleased with this.

[Klingl] Is lifting the arms embargo not fraught with many risks? Until the weapons arrive here. the aggressor would attack everywhere and everyone.

[Silajdzic] Everything here is fraught with risks, anyway. We have the right to self-defense. The embargo has killed so many innocent people, and it helps the aggressor. In September 1991 Belgrade asked for this arms embargo. Why does the West obey Belgrade? Why is it following the plans made there?

[Klingl] Does the West understand what is going on?

[Silajdzic] It is clear genocide, and everybody knows it.

[Klingl] UN mediator Stoltenberg, who said that Muslims and Croats are actually Serbs, is an example of the opposite.

[Silajdzic] This case has its own tragic quality. After he said this, the UN secretary general made him the first man for Bosnia. We will no longer talk to Stoltenberg

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or to (UN representative) Akashi. I am not even sure whether we will still talk to (UN Secretary General) Butrus-Ghali.

[Klingl] What about EU mediator Bildt?

[Silajdzic] I met him. He has a difficult role to play, namely to say what the Contact Group does not want to say, that it has given up its own peace plan (51 percent of Bosnia for the Muslims and Croats, 49 percent for the Serbs).

[Klingl] Will the war escalate?

[Silajdzic] It has already been escalating all the time. The international community wants to contain it in Bosnia. This is no solution. I am tired of repeating it: Containing it means preserving the status quo, and this under the current arms embargo. That means that one offers Bosnia on a silver platter to the monster of Hitlerism and Stalinism, and goes to sleep politically, just as was the case with Austria and Czechoslovakia in 1939. [as published] This is precisely why we have had a century full of bloodshed. Furthermore, the relationship with the Islamic world is becoming sensitive. Bosnia is a symbol of the denigration of the Muslim element. But this world is not the same as it was in the past. Millions of educated people are very worried, a climate of confrontation is being created.

[Klingl] Is Europe creating its own "Palestinian problem?"

[Silajdzic] There is a lot of fundamentalism in Europe, religious and secular fundamentalism. The secular fundamentalism in Europe is even more dangerous. In this century alone it has killed about 165 million people. European fundamentalism brought a gigantic tragedy to this world. You (Europeans) do not have the right to talk about fundamentalism. Bosnia is a normal country, you can see that for yourself.

[Klingl] Do you expect help from anyone at all?

[Silajdzic] From God.

SDA Endorses Split Accord, U.S. Senate Vote

AU2707192795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The latest successes of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] on the Livno-Kupres front are the first results of the Split Declaration, which the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] fully supports. One should not expect a quick linking up with the Bihac enclave, although we are already receiving significant help from the HVO in the form of easing the burden on the Bihac defenses. This was stated today at the SDA news conference by the party's deputy leader, Edhem Bicakcic.

The SDA takes the view that the declaration offers a justified hope that new, better-quality relations between the Bosniaks and Croats, that is, the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, will be established. This is a very strong impulse for putting the federation into life, Bicakcic said.

Edhem Bicakcic substantiated his optimism regarding the federation and improvements in relations between the two peoples on the results of the international arbitrage regarding contentious issues. The SDA will officially present its views on the results of the arbitrage, although I can say already now that we accept it fully, Bicakcic stressed.

Speaking on behalf of the party, he fully supported the results of the one year mandate of the EU Administration in Mostar, and stressed that all the positive shifts will help a rapid assembly of the federal mosaic.

Osman Brka, member of the SDA Main Committee, stressed that the party is doing everything possible for the Srebrenica tragedy not to be repeated in Zepa. The situation in Zepa is completely under control and we will not allow the mistakes that happened in Srebrenica to be repeated. The evacuation of women and children from Zepa has thus far been fairly successful, and we expect a good denouement of the situation, Brka said.

In reply to a journalist's question whether one could expect the defenders of Zepa to be evacuated in the course of the day, according to the principle of exchanging all for all, Edhem Bicakcic said:

The negotiations on this are underway and, if a satisfactory agreement is reached, the SDA will support this agreement. The agreement must envisage the exchange of all for all, and not something in between, which the Serb aggressor is trying to impose, Bicakcic said.

The SDA welcomes the decision of the U.S. Senate for the United States to unilaterally lift the embargo on the import of arms to the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We did not expect such a high number of votes, but we understand it as the wish of the U.S. Senate to help the victim of the aggression, the party spokesman, Ismet Grbo said. The SDA members think that the decision of the U.S. Congress has primarily a moral dimension, but our diplomacy will try to capitalize on this political point, which is evident.

Dr. Grbo said that NATO's decision on a new model of the chain of command in calling air strikes against Karadzic's Serbs that excludes Yasushi Akashi from

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the decisionmaking process did not go far enough, and appealed for further shortening of the procedure.

The SDA welcomes the indictment against Karadzic, Mladic, and their aides, and suggests that no negotiations should be held with them in the future as they have been publicly marked as war criminals.

Gen Muslimovic: Army To Stop Serb Propaganda

AU2707203095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 Jul 95

[Interview with Brigadier General Fikret Muslimovic by Lamija Bojadzic; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Bojadzic] When the Serb aggressor started the offensive on all protected areas and launched major attacks and exerted pressure on the fields of battle and [words indistinct] Bihac, that is the 5th Corps. The unity of the people and the army is now perhaps more evident then anywhere else.

Mr. General, how can this unity be preserved, how can we successfully break this campaign of false promises and illusions of the criminal Fikret Abdic that have recently [words indistinct]?

[Muslimovic] You see, the fighters and the population of the Bihac region have up this moment been showing their readiness, unity, determination, and courage facing the Chetnik army, be it Karadzic's or Martic's Chetniks, or the Chetniks from the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, who are coming here. The fighters of the 5th Corps of our Army have inflicted enormous losses on the Chetniks in that area. They have liberated much territory and demonstrated and proved to everybody that we have been conducting our liberation struggle successfully.

Naturally, since the Chetniks realize that they cannot succeed with their offensives, they are also trying other forms and ways of weakening our ranks, and this is propaganda. They are especially using the Chetniks of Fikret Abdic for this propaganda, not only via radio and by spreading various false theories, schemes, and so forth, but as of late, they are even using leaflets. This is proof that they are becoming increasingly incapable of doing something in an armed struggle, and are concentrating on other forms and methods of weakening us, within ourselves. We know that, and we in our Army and among our population are paying considerable attention and teaching people how to identify enemy propaganda, what its goals are, the forms of the enemy propaganda, and the reasons why the aggressor is resorting to various measures from his propaganda arsenal to [words indistinct].

We are sure that we will successfully check both the aggressor's physical attacks on our units and commands and population, and the propaganda activities, regardless of the forms it appears in, to weaken our internal situation, our political, psychological, and moral stability.

Federation Official Views Zagreb-Sarajevo Ties

AU2707180195 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jul 95 p 6

[Interview with Mariofil Ljubic, president of the Constitutional Assembly of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Jozo Pavkovic in Sarajevo; date not given: "The Declaration Is the Right Response to the Aggressor"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The president of the Constitutional Assembly of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mariofil Ljubic, recently met with a great many domestic and foreign politicians in Sarajevo. At the same time, he has been preparing materials for the eighth session of the federal parliament, most probably to be held in Zenica in a fortnight. Twenty laws will be discussed at the session. We asked him what topics will be on the agenda.

[Ljubic] The delegates will discuss the laws that are crucial for the implementation of the Federation. One of the most significant laws is that on local self-rule, which, together with the Decision on the Constitution of Municipalities, will create the conditions for the final organization on those levels. Also, in accordance with the conclusion of the latest assembly, this session and those to come will discuss the enforcement of the Federal Constitution and the establishment of authorities, particularly on the lower levels.

[Pavkovic] Will the parliament discuss the declaration that was signed in Split by the delegations of the Republic of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Federation?

[Ljubic] In any case, it is good that the parliament should be acquainted with the contents of the declaration. Therefore, we will include it in the agenda. It is also good for the parliament to support such a document, for which people have waited for a long time and which they have accepted with approval. I would say: The declaration is the right response to the aggressor. Bearing in mind that Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina are victims of the same aggressor, this agreement is a logical continuation of the agreement reached on friendship and cooperation. The realization of the declaration will contribute a lot to the establishment of the Federation, but also to the establishment of the confederation with Croatia.

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Conflicts Slowed Down the Processes

[Pavkovic] On this session, the parliament will discuss one extremely sensitive issue, the separation of the competences of the Republic and Federal Governments?

[Ljubic] I believe that we will be able to find the right solutions in a regular procedure. At the moment, on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina there are two separate entities: Herzeg-Bosnia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Now we are attempting to balance them. The preconditions for the formation of authorities in municipalities and cantons are being created, in order to enable us establish Federal authorities through a unique legal system.

[Pavkovic] Yet, the hardest thing will be to establish authorities on the local level?

[Ljubic] That process has been completed, in compliance with the Constitution, in most municipalities. In those municipalities in which that was not possible, differences and contradictions regarding disputable issues have been defined and handed over to arbiters. At the moment, there are expedited preparations for the establishment of authorities on the cantonal level. It was not easy, after Croat-Muslim conflicts, to complete these processes so quickly. But despite everything, we are coming closer to the final goal step by step.

[Pavkovic] Will these processes be slowed down by discussions about the precise boundaries of municipalities and cantons?

[Ljubic] They have been roughly determined during the talks in Vienna. Those boundaries are very imprecise. Therefore, there is a conclusion in the Vienna agreement that says that the precise boundaries will be determined on the ground. A commission of experts, with an equal number of Croats and Muslims, will start work soon. They will agree on the real boundaries.

Soldiers Ahead of Politicians

[Pavkovic] There is an impression that it will be very hard to pass the most important laws, those on defense and internal affairs?

[Ljubic] The Croat side is asking for a precise definition of the Federal Army. We insist on organizing it in such a way that it always remains a guarantee for both peoples in the Federation. Therefore, we suggest that it be composed of two equal components: the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. After all, those two laws that you mention have already, to a great degree, been agreed upon. I wish to point out that the soldiers are still one step ahead of the politicians. I was convinced of that when I visited the Joint Staff and discovered that the unblocking operations are going as planned.

[Pavkovic] What about the symbols of the Federation?

[Ljubic] The competition was closed two months ago. We received some 350 proposals, and a parity commission and a parliamentary commission will meet to choose the coat of arms and the flag. It would be good if they agree on a final solution. Believe me, that would contribute to the faster establishment of the Federation.

[Pavkovic] And to its confederation with Croatia?

[Ljubic] The parliament has started certain activities on that, accepting the preliminary agreement on the establishment of confederation with Croatia. The governments of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia went one step further, signing some state agreements. This territory is geostrategically unique, and, as such, it is a firm obstruction to the aggressor. We are lucky to have the Republic of Croatia; it is a guarantee of our safety and survival. Although all of us are not lucky to live in it, that does not mean that we all do not have to work toward strengthening the Croatian state.

It Is Important To Be in Sarajevo

[Pavkovic] You are one of the few Croatian politicians who are often in Sarajevo. One can often hear remarks that others should also be in this city more often. What is your opinion?

[Ljubic] It is very important to be in Sarajevo because it is the seat of both the Federation and the Republic, and it is also the seat of all international institutions. Therefore, we must come to Sarajevo, participate actively in the talks, and constantly draw attention to our problems. It is very hard to explain the problems from a distance. That is why it we are blamed for not having done what we already have done, because there is no one to present those facts for us. Therefore all those whose work is connected with this city should be here whenever they can, regardless of all the dangers that it implies. I do not have to state specifically what that would mean for the Croats of this imprisoned city.

[Pavkovic] Recently, you talked with an unusually great number of foreign diplomats in Sarajevo. Why was that?

[Ljubic] Mainly the current situation on the territory of the Federation and of Bosnia-Herzegovina. So, the topics were the protected areas, particularly Srebrenica, Zepa, Bihac, but also Banja Luka, where genocide is being carried out. I tried to ask for help on all levels, on both the humanitarian and political levels. Among the ambassadors with whom I spoke, there were many friends of the Federation. Almost all of them support the establishment of the Federation and its confederation with the Republic of Croatia. They stress that even more

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than we do, probably considering it to be the only way to a final solution. However, there are differences.

[Pavkovic] What do you think of the role of the UN forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Ljubic] At the beginning, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] did some good things. To a degree, they enabled the stabilization of the situation and they helped the humanitarian situation to improve. It is a fact that the present UNPROFOR mandate limits the peace process, because it has been proved to be ineffective and its mechanisms of defense are inadequate.

[Pavkovic] In the meantime, the Rapid Reaction Force has arrived. It is understandable that the authorities of Bosnia-Herzegovina and of the Federation insist that it should specify its goals. We are not a colony. We are an internationally recognized state and a UN member, and therefore they cannot roam around on our territory just like that.

[Box, p 6]

There Can Be No Return to the Beginning

[Pavkovic] Recently, there were conflicts between Croats and Muslims in central Bosnia. Can such events spoil what has been done so far?

[Ljubic] We live in a sensitive time. At the moment, we are in a position to proceed with the positive processes more quickly and, therefore, we must avoid any sort of incidents. They are particularly dangerous in this military and political situation, at a moment when the aggression on our territory has reached its culmination. Of course all this makes people nervous. Primarily because of the enemy's intention to return us to 1992, we have to keep in mind that new conflicts would be a catastrophe for the Croats and Muslims. However, on the basis of all that has been done, nothing can return us to the beginning. On the contrary, we can only move forward.

Daily on Split Accord, Role of Islamic States

AU2807074895 Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jul 95 p 2

[Commentary by Zija Dizdarevic: "There Are Still Many Things Hidden in the London Fog"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Generally speaking, the agreements from London, Geneva, and Split have benefited Bosnia-Herzegovina politically and have opened up the prospect of strengthening it militarily. After the meetings on Bosnia-Herzegovina, one should expect an acceleration of action on both the diplomatic and military fronts.

On the occasion of the London conference, General Mladic was already threatening to capture all the safe havens in Bosnia-Herzegovina, including Sarajevo, by autumn. This, of course, is not feasible, but it tells us of the threat to persevere to the end. The Chetniks are trying to strike terror into people's hearts with the daily massacres of the civilian population in Sarajevo and elsewhere using the most destructive missiles. At the same time, they are also tending to discourage the international forces by using the heaviest possible artillery to shell them. Their nervousness will most certainly be intensified by the positions of the Islamic countries and the Split Declaration.

The London declaration increased the pressure on Pale, but not directly on Milosevic as well. Eyes are still being kept half closed to his responsibility for the renewed aggression. However, the question is how long he will be allowed to play this simultaneous game with both the war and the peace options. The Serbian extremists will desire further military engagement on the part of Belgrade and the utmost complication of the situation. Of course, the behavior of Moscow will also be important.

The Western allies have drawn a red line around Gorazde. Meanwhile, the forgetting of Srebrenica, the neglecting of Zepa, and the passing over Bihac in silence strengthen Sarajevo's suspicion that, in fact, the point in question is to draw a new map of Bosnia-Herzegovina. One can see here that the Contact Group plan is now being mentioned only as a basis for negotiations.

The London positions are now being politically and militarily elaborated. There are still many things hidden in the London fog. It is necessary to clear up the political objectives, possible targets, the method of decisionmaking, and methods of carrying out the strikes. Nevertheless, it seems that the multinational forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina are increasingly approaching intervention, which requires that the decisionmaking center should move toward NATO. Possibly the most important targets are the aggressor's missile systems. An attack on them would touch Belgrade's nerve, as well as Moscow's.

In announcing a shift over the aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Islamic countries have come up with a first-class political surprise. Proclaiming the arms embargo on Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia invalid and not binding on them, announcing the possibility of a larger presence of troops from Islamic countries in Bosnia-Herzegovina within the UN mission or on a bilateral basis and their request for the dismissal of Butrus-Ghali, these countries are moving into the front line of international players in the crisis over here. This

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will meet resistance from Western countries, particularly Britain and France. However, it is precisely these two countries that have provoked this action.

The Islamic countries cannot be accused of acting unilaterally. Indeed, Iran and particularly Turkey are among those countries that have persistently been working on promoting relations between Zagreb and Sarajevo and implementing the Federation. Iran, in cooperation with Greece, is maintaining an indirect dialogue between Belgrade and Sarajevo.

The efficiency of the Split agreement between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina can quickly and easily be checked out, at least when the point in question is military cooperation. The future of political relations between the two states, as well as of Bosniak-Croat relations, will depend largely upon the nature, extent, and effect of HV [Croatian Army] and HVO [Croatian Defense Council] cooperation with the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Sarajevo welcomes any alliance as long as it strengthens the possibility of the entire state of Bosnia-Herzegovina surviving.

The Split declaration describes Bosnia-Herzegovina as a complete and sovereign state within internationally recognized borders. However, it is not very clear what the mention of the Federation as an irreplaceable state and political framework for the implementation of the interests of the Croat and Bosniak peoples mean. Further explanations are also necessary of the position about the necessity for the functions of the authorities of the Republic and the Federation to be integrated. The Bosnian Serbs living in the territories under the control of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO will also react to this, because there is only mention of the legal equality of the Bosniak and Croatian nations within the Federation.

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, the opinion has recently prevailed that the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina should be organized as a federation of equal citizens and nations. This idea is also contained in the Sarajevo Declaration and, a couple of months ago, Izetbegovic committed himself to this. It is true, according to the commitment to reestablish some kind of political and judicial framework for the Federation, that its future is still uncertain, especially because the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia remains, it would seem, untouched.

All in all, the political will of the Western countries, the Islamic countries, and Croatia will soon be tested in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The West has underlined Gorazde as a no-go area for the aggressor and Croatia has emphasized its special interest in Bihac. Those points are crucial for Bosnia-Herzegovina, but the basic military and political test for all the interested parties will be on the Sarajevo front. The decision of the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina will, willy-nilly, be made there.

UN's Stoltenberg: Control of Bihac 'Strategic'

AU2707165095 Paris AFP in English 1603 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Oslo, July 27 (AFP)—The battle for the Bihac enclave in northwest Bosnia is more serious than the unsuccessful fights for the fallen safe havens of Srebrenica and Zepa, UN peace mediator to the former Yugoslavia Thorvald Stoltenberg said Thursday [27 July].

In a telephone interview with the Norwegian news agency NTB from his office in Geneva, Stoltenberg said control of the UN-declared safe haven of Bihac was more strategic because of the possibility that the war may spread into Croatia.

"An escalation of the war in Bihac is very serious in several ways. The humanitarian situation is very critical and the potential danger for a spreading of the war is larger than in the battles for the enclaves in eastern Bosnia," Stoltenberg said.

The Bihac enclave, the last obstacle to a union of Serb-controlled territories on both sides of the Croatian-Bosnian border, is the target of a seven-day offensive by Krajina Serbs, Bosnian Serbs, and pro-Serb Moslem forces led by local warlord Fikret Abdic.

Akashi on Croatian Troops

AU2807102995 Paris AFP in English 0945 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, July 28 (AFP)—The United Nations has reported "a significant number" of Croatian Army troops moving into Bosnia-Herzegovina for possible action relating to the situation in Bihac, UN special envoy to the former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi said Friday.

Akashi urged "maximum restraint" on all parties so that "the situation does not degenerate."

Zagreb has repeatedly said it will not allow Bihac, just 12 kilometres (eight miles) from its border, to fall to secessionist Serbs because that would threaten its security.

The enclave, a last obstacle to a union of Serb-controlled territories on both sides of the Croatian-Bosnian border, has been targeted in a week-long offensive by Croatian Serbs, Bosnian Serbs and dissident Moslems.

A counteroffensive was launched Tuesday after Croatia and Bosnia signed a military accord to prevent Bihac falling to the Serbs.

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In Mount Dinara, on the border between Croatia and Bosnia, "the situation remains tense," Akashi said. "We have observed intense activities and troops of ARSK (separatist Serbs of Krajina) and Croatia in connection with the Bihac situation."

The United Nations moved Thursday to beef up their presence along the Bosnia-Croatia border after Bosnian Croat advances threatening a key Serb supply route in Bosnia raised fears that fighting around the Bihac enclave would cause the conflict to spill over into Croatia. [passage omitted]

Commenting on his visit Thursday to Osijek in western Slavonia, which borders an area controlled by the Krajina Serbs, Akashi stressed the importance of the UN's role in this sector.

"We are trying the best we can for the safe return of the deplaced families. The deplaced people have the right to a peaceful life," he said. "However it is important it has to be done in a peaceful way to prepare the safe return of the people. They have to be patient," he said.

HVO Asks HV for Help

LD2707154795 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received a statement by the political administration of the Defense Ministry of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia:

Vladimir Soljic, defense minister of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, has said that the Croat Defense Council [HVO] has asked Croatian Army [HV] border units to help it, since Serbs from the temporarily occupied areas of Croatia are engaged in large numbers in operations on the Livno front. He also stressed that there is evidence that, for a long time, Serbs from the temporarily occupied areas of the Republic of Croatia have been involved in the fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and specifically on the Livno and Bihac fronts.

Croats Gain in Livno Area

LD2707153295 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received a statement by the political administration of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia. The statement says:

Operations on the Livno front, where Croat Defense Council [HVO] units today liberated further 30 square kilometers of territory, bringing the total liberated territory to 100 square kilometers, are proceeding according to plan. The enemy is suffering heavy losses and a large number of its soldiers are deserting despite the efforts of its commanders.

The captured and killed enemy soldiers are from the temporarily occupied areas of the Republic of Croatia, from Benkovac, Obrovac, Knin, Petrinja, and, according to the latest findings, from the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Croat Advance Continues

LD2707185195 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received a statement on the situation in the Livno theater of war from the Ministry of Defense of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia.

In the course of the day, Croat forces, which yesterday launched a determined counterattack on the Livno front line, are embarking on the final phase of this battle with a great deal of success. The enemy is totally encircled in Glamoc while suffering heavy losses in personnel in equipment.

Having reached dominant positions from which they have taken full control of the Bosansko Grahovo-Glamoc road and the Glamoc-Tihovo road, the Croat forces have also destroyed an entire armored battalion and captured three T-84 tanks, which had just arrived from Knin, a large number of artillery pieces, and large amounts of ammunition and various weapons.

Desertion on a massive scale is in evidence among the enemy ranks. Courts-martial are being set up as well as police teams tasked with rounding up the deserters. In a desperate attempt, the regime in the temporarily occupied areas of the Republic of Croatia has for the umpteenth time declared full mobilization. This time, however, women and 16-year-olds are also being called up, something that has stirred up revolt among their public and one part of the top officials.

Banja Luka radio reports testify best to the extent of panic, and we quote, 15,000 Ustashas have assaulted Serb hearths in the Grahovo-Glamoc theater of war in order to conquer this area and link up with the 5th Corps headed by Atif Dudakovic in the Bihac theatre of war. The town of Glamoc is completely deserted, as its civilian population has been evacuated to the village of Pribelja, 14 kilometers northeast of Glamoc. Croat forces have liberated over 150 square kilometers of territory in the course of recent fighting on this front line, the Political Department of the Ministry of Defense of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia says in its statement.

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Grahovo People Flee Attack

AU2707143995 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 Jul 95

[Report by Branislav Bozic from Banja Luka]

[FBIS Translated Text] Several thousand citizens of the mountain town of Grahovo and the surrounding villages fled to Drvar before the onslaught of the very strong forces of the Republic of Croatia and the Croatian Defense Council. They are attacking from the south, from the direction of Livno, and across Mt. Dinara. They are Croatian Guard units from Split, Zagreb, and Varazdin, as well as the Home Guard forces from Sinj and Imotski. With multiple-rocket launchers and artillery, they have been incessantly targeting the road via Drvar and Grahovo toward Knin, so the traffic along that road has been completely interrupted.

Units of the 2d Krajina Corps of the Army of the Serbian Republic are waging fierce battles trying to stop this incredibly large offensive of the Croatian Army, which is now on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Croatian media have already been rejoicing that the recent Split Declaration by which Tudjman and Izetbegovic signed for military cooperation is being successfully implemented.

It is being assessed here that the Croatian forces' intention is to take Grahovo and continue toward Bihac in order to join the forces of the 5th Muslim Corps, whereby the entire Knin region would be completely cut off.

Fresh Serb Forces Arrive

AU2707183695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 Jul 95

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Today was yet another difficult and dramatic day in the free parts of Una-Sana Canton, in which the Chetniks attacking from the territory of the so-called SAO [Serb Autonomous Region] Krajina, continued to kill, burn, and destroy in an attempt to definitely crush the resistance of the people and the region and force them to meet the deadline, 28 July, when, according to the orders from Belgrade, they are supposed to enter Cazin, that is, reach the left bank of the Una River, and in this way create the opportunity for the vassal Abdic to declare some kind of a (?farm) state.

That they are in hurry and that things are not going according to the plan is confirmed by the rush in Velika Kladusa itself, the declaration of the so-called republic, and the continuous hauling of fresh Chetnik forces and military hardware, especially to the region of the former Zeljava airport, Licko Petrovo Selo, (?Kordunski) Ljeskovac, Cadilovac, Glinovaca, and so forth. [passage omitted]

Serbs: Attacks 'Sucessfully Repelled'

LD2707203795 Belgrade FONET in Serbo-Croatian 1910 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Pale, 27 July (FONET)—The press center of the General Staff of the Serb Republic Army has announced that Serb Republic Army forces successfully repelled all attacks by the Muslim and Croatian troops, SRNA reported.

The brunt of the attack by the regular troops of the Croatian Army was directed at the Glamoc field, with the shelling of the areas around Procip, Kujaca and Mala Golija, south of Glamoc, and of the town itself.

On the Grahovo front, the Croatian units continued with their infantry attacks with support from their artillery.

From the Bihac area the Muslims attacked Serb positions on the Grabez and Grmusa plateaus using 82-mm and 120-mm mortars and infantry weapons.

Muslim snipers shelled civilian targets in Krupa na Uni, while in the part of the front towards Novi Grad they launched infantry and mortar attacks from the Staziste and Plavno areas, but without any consequences.

On the Srbobran front the Muslims launched attacks in the area of Koscani, Urije and towards Komar.

Serb Front 'Smashed' by Croats

LD2807111795 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The latest news from the Livno front: Correspondents on the ground have reported that forces of the [Bosnian Serb] Second Krajina Corps have been smashed along a 90-km front. Croatian forces have entered Bosanska Grahovo and in this way achieved full control of the road running from Knin to Grahovo and on to Drvar and the Grahovo-Glamoc road. The way is open for the advance of Croatian forces towards Bihac.

New Wave of Refugees Reported

AU2807111495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 28 Jul 95

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] Last night and this morning the momentous artillery tank attacks by the so-called Serb Autonomous Region of Krajina continued on the

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villages on the outskirts of Bihac municipality, Izacic, Vitici, and Gata, as well as Bugar and Trzacka Rastela, where several attempts at infantry breakthroughs across the Korana were roundly routed thanks to the superhuman efforts of our defenders.

Martic's, Abdic's, and Karadzic's fascists are also attacking the defense lines in Cazin municipality, and also the villages of Krivaja, (?Kravice), Pecigrad, (?Vaskovici), (?Krusnik) and [word indistinct].

They are intensely pounding the hinterland of this area and also Kladusa and Buzim municipalities with long-range artillery.

Artillery, tank, and infantry attacks on [word indistinct] and Golubovici in Velika Kladusa municipality have culminated since last night in an effort to realize the first phase of their offensive by a deadline that is already overdue. This also started a new wave of refugees, which further complicates the situation in Cazin and Bihac.

According to incomplete reports there were high civilian casualties in last night's and today's shelling.

Mladic Urges Gorazde Troops To Surrender

AU2707165995 Paris AFP in English 1621 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, July 27 (AFP)—The Bosnian Serbs' military leader [Ratko Mladic] Thursday [27 July] called on government troops in Gorazde to lay down their arms, brushing aside NATO threats that his troops would face airstrikes if they attacked the UN-declared safe area.

"The Gorazde issue can be settled through contacts with representatives of local authorities, by surrendering their arms, but civilians would be given an opportunity to stay if they wish," the rebel Serbs' news agency SRNA quoted General Ratko Mladic as saying in Zepa. [passage omitted]

Defenders 'in Complete Control'

AU2807112095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The settlements on the free Gorazde territory are suffering the artillery attacks of the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor and Karadzic's Chetniks today, too. Despite all the attacks the members of the 81th Division of our Army and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Gorazde are in complete control of all defense lines, which are firm and stable. The morale of our defenders is high. [passage omitted]

RRF Ready on Mt Igman for 'Fiery Response'

AU2807074595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] About a thousand soldiers of the Rapid Reaction Force [RRF] with heavy artillery dug in along the Igman road are ready to fulfill their mission: provide protection to UN convoys and personnel on the Igman road, B-H PRESS new agency reports.

All units are ready and in place. All our potential targets have been registered, French Colonel (Gerard Henerman) stated. Anyone who attacks a convoy with any type of arms will receive a fiery response within 40 seconds, the French colonel explained.

The RRF was formed as a result of the aggressor's stepped up terrorist actions against the UN soldiers, who not long ago were taken hostage and used as human shields to prevent potential NATO air strikes.

Face 'Stand-Off' With Serbs

AU2807123995 Paris AFP in English 1152 GMT 28 Jul 95

[Report by Christian Millet]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mt. Igman, Bosnia-Herzegovina, July 28 (AFP)—Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) units deployed around Sarajevo intervened for the first time Friday [28 July] but did not open fire after a French peacekeeper was wounded by a stray Serb mortar. The French peacekeeper suffered head injuries Thursday after a Serb mortar fell near a UN post at Krupac, about 15 kilometres (nine miles) from Sarajevo, during exchanges between Bosnian and Serb forces. A Serb armoured vehicle fired the mortar then returned to a protected position in the village of Gornji Mladice, just outside Krupac, before peacekeepers could retaliate, a French RRF officer said.

French Lieutenant Colonel Gerard Dubois said the Serb mortar "was probably not fired deliberately." He added the peacekeeper's life was not in danger. It was launched by Serbs responding to Bosnian fire from a position a few dozen metres (yards) above the peacekeepers' post. The wounded peacekeeper was transported to Split, Croatia, by helicopter to be evacuated to France.

About 50 Serb fighters backed up by armoured vehicles surrounded the UN post Krupac 3 at the foot of Mt. Igman held by about 10 peacekeepers. Two other posts, Krupac 1, manned by a further 10 peacekeepers, and Krupac 2, with about 30 peacekeepers, were also threatened by Serbs, French soldiers said.

General Herve Gobilliard, UNPROFOR commander for the Sarajevo sector responded by calling for the

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intervention of RRF units on Mt. Igman, and the alarm was raised at about 6:30 p.m. (1630 GMT) Thursday. Twelve French heavy mortars and 12 British guns were placed into position. Shortly after 8 p.m., an initial assault was launched. Six fighting tanks and 60 legionnaires, plus two infantry batallions of 60 legionnaires carried on armoured troop-carriers arrived at Krupac, AFP observed.

About 30 French legionnaires penetrated the Krupac 3 post and other, armed with antitank missiles took up position to defend the two other Krupac posts, but no shots were fired. The stand-off lasted until 1.45 a.m. Friday (2345 GMT Thursday), before Serbs gradually backed off.

French troops remained in position until mid-morning to ensure no Serbs lingered. Throughout the night a second rank of infantry stood by in armoured vehicles ready for action in case of fierce clashes.

Approximately 300 British troops and some 500 French Legionnaires completed their deployment outside Sarajevo Monday in an unprecedented show of force designed to discourage Bosnian Serb attacks on UN peacekeepers in the Bosnian capital.

Orders were given to put part of the Rapid Reaction Force on Mt. Igman after two French soldiers died during two simultaneous Bosnian Serb attacks on peacekeepers in the city Saturday.

Mayor on Mt Igman Deployment

BR2807114795 Rome L'ESPRESSO in Italian 4 Aug 95 pp 31-32

[Interview with Sarajevo Mayor Tarik Kupusovic by Adriano Sofri in Sarajevo; date not given: "The Prisoners of the Tunnel"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Sofri] But will this [UN] encampment on Mt. Igman suffice to open up access to Sarajevo?

[Kupusovic] Quite the contrary. It could well end up by freezing the siege. The Igman track is a marginal, almost impassable road, a mule-track when the Austrians first opened it in the old days, and a rambling path used by present-day Sarajevans for weekend excursions. But it remains an unmade road, in a terrible condition, steep, and, even worse, its only link to the city is via the tunnel. The "blue road" that the United Nations had undertaken to keep passable is the one at the bottom.

[Sofri] The Calvary of Mt. Igman and the descent into the underworld of the tunnel; is it not crazy that a European capital should be drawing its breath from an underground passage measuring a meter and a half, like a tunnel for escaping convicts?

[Kupusovic] Everything is crazy. In the fall of 1992, when we dug the tunnel in absolute secrecy, we were still deluding ourselves that we would break the siege, our brave boys taking the Chetniks by surprise. That was why we dug the tunnel: as a provisional route for our soldiers' forays. Who would have thought that it would be Sarajevo's lifeline for another three years? Last summer, when there was a sort of truce, the tunnel seemed useless, as 20,000 people were able to leave Sarajevo, and 8,000, mostly women and children, returned to their families and homes over the same period. It is no easy matter to explain the Sarajevans' special love for their city. I am convinced that it was the alarm caused by this return that made the Chetniks attack again and close the blue road. In spite of everything, there can be no ethnic cleansing at Sarajevo except by massacre pure and simple.

[Sofri] But is the massacre not really imminent, the more so if the Bosnian countersiege were to score successes?

[Kupusovic] Five to 10 dead a day, most of them children, and dozens of wounded, horribly wounded, butchered, mutilated, are currently the norm in Sarajevo. There are 48,000 boys and girls aged from seven to 17 in the city, the compulsory schooling age here, and we have been totally unable to keep the schools open for two and a half months. Lessons are being held in apartments, in cellars, but there comes a time when the danger is too great and the strain is overwhelming. I have just been talking to the heads of a number of schools. We are ready, they say, but how can we cope with the minutes in which hundreds of children throng together in the open at the beginning and end of the school day? As far as children under school age are concerned, think how hard it is to keep them shut up at home, and how their minds will be affected by the confinement imposed on them.

[Sofri] What do you expect to happen?

[Kupusovic] I do not know. Perhaps I have no time to think about it. I take phone calls from Barcelona, from Parma, I meet the French ambassador beside the soldiers' coffins, immediately after which I attend the delivery of five trash collection vehicles that have been donated to us. I go down the road, to the president's headquarters, for a meeting with the military commanders, who then want to drag me into the shelter because that side of the building is being shelled. What is happening here and now keeps us too busy to think about what will happen tomorrow. Sure, Sarajevo is a place where all hopes have been raised and dashed a thousand times. Enough is enough. I have called for

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help because we have nothing to eat, nothing to drink, no plastic to cover our windows with, and nothing to treat our sick with. But Sarajevo needs more than that. It needs firm action, of a political, not a humanitarian nature, within the next few weeks. Igman or no Igman, it is a road of hope that has to be opened up. There will not be another winter for us in these conditions: We would not make it.

When Izetbegovic says that Sarajevo must be reopened, by political or military means, by 25 November, cost what it may, this is what he means. You Italians, who are our nearest neighbors and, if I may say so, the people "most like us," must be aware of this. Thank you for your help, which we desperately need, but what we need most of all is for all this to end. And this is not a humanitarian task. I am no military expert, but I an convinced that if NATO were to destroy a couple of hundred artillery positions, munitions dumps, and command posts, the siege would be over. You have to believe me. Then negotiations on the status of Sarajevo would be opened: an international administration, like in Mostar, and fair policing under international law. The Bosnian Serbs would have their due, on a par, of course, with those 35,000 or 40,000 Sarajevans with Serbian surnames who have remained here, and whom the Chetniks abhor as traitors. [passage omitted]

[Sofri] One last question: How did this madness break out?

[Kupusovic] It can only be explained at a distance. It cannot be explained now. I have colleagues who used to be friends; they are in Serbia. It has certainly been a tremendous disappointment. It is both too easy and too difficult to explain. When Milosevic ranted in Kosovo Polje about wanting a country solely made up of Serbs, I thought he was a madman and that that was all there was to it. There is and must be no country in the world like that. But it is what he really thinks, and he has done a good job. We had no preparations to make for the country that we wanted. It was a normal country, with lots of different people. We had it. I still think that he was mad and that we were not. But we have paid a high price.

Zagreb Reports Serb Shelling of Mostar

LD2707132695 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just learned that a general danger alert was sounded in Mostar at 1328. According to the information center, several artillery shells fell on the wider area of Mostar. They were fired from Serb strongholds. There have been no reports of casualties.

Izetbegovic Asks FRG To Build Refugee Camp

AU2707190395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Prompted by the difficult humanitarian situation in which some 30,000 refugees from Srebrenica have found themselves, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has sent a message to German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina president proposes to the Federal chancellor that Germany build a camp for 3,000 to 5,000 residents of Srebrenica on the free territory of Tuzla-Podrinje Canton. The camp would be given the name of the German Village. The answer of the Bonn government is expected to be positive. Other West European countries are also expected to follow the move. In this way, the most burning problem of the Bosniak population expelled from Srebrenica could be solved in good time.

President Izetbegovic considers the provision of proper accommodation for the refugees from Srebrenica and Zepa before the upcoming winter as the priority task of the state administration.

Serbs Reportedly Hold Zepa 'Hostages' in Buses

LD2707224695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Unfortunately, we have to start 28 July with some really bad news from Zepa.

At the exit from Zepa, the Serb terrorists stopped a column of 10 buses with 600 people, after the convoy had passed the last UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] checkpoint.

They are now the aggressor's hostages, the B-H Press news agency has learned from the State Committee for relations with the United Nations.

The head of the State Committee for relations with the United Nations, Minister Hasan Muratovic, said that this news was confirmed to him personally by General Rupert Smith, UNPROFOR commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We are in constant touch with General Smith, and after he returned from Zepa he told me just after 2100 [1900 GMT] that the last group of civilians had left Zepa. After checking his information later on, Smith told us that the Serb terrorists were holding 10 coaches with women, children, and elderly people at the UN checkpoint at the exit from Zepa. [Words indistinct] but he informed us that these people could neither continue

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their journey to the free territories nor return to Zepa, Minister Muratovic said.

[Words indistinct] information about what happened with the remaining group of the people. Our reports from the ground say that 1,500 civilians were in the last group of civilians, which, according to UNPROFOR, wanted to leave Zepa, Muratovic said, and added that the UN peacekeeping force commander did not know what had happened to the remaining 900 people.

Minister Muratovic will stay in constant touch with General Smith until this latest terrorist attack against the civilians from the Zepa safe area is over.

The B-H Press news agency reported this news just a few minutes ago.

UN Unable To Confirm

AU2807085595 Paris AFP in English 0759 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 28 (AFP)—The expulsion of civilians from the Zepa enclave is almost complete, UN officials said Friday, with just a handful of cvilians remaining in the former UN safe area.

"Between 4,000 and 5,000 people have now been evacuated from the enclave and we have heard of another group of 400-500 civilians who are about to arrive at Kladanj," UN spokewoman Myriam Sochacki said Friday morning.

Reports that some 600 refugees had been blocked by Bosnian Serbs outside Zepa town could not be confirmed by Sochacki. The official Bosnian news agency reported Thursday evening that 600 Moslem refugees were blocked on the road outside the Zepa enclave.

"We have no reports of any problems with the refugees," she said, adding that the only problem had been with a Russian UN armoured personnel carrier which the Serbs stole after it fell over a precipice.

Sochacki said there was still no resolution regarding the fate of the men who defended the enclave against Serb forces who took the town on Tuesday, just two weeks after they overran another UN safe area, Srebrenica.

"We understand that there are ongoing negotiations in Zepa between the local authorities and the Bosnian Serbs over the surrender of some 1,500 men hiding in the hills," the UN spokewoman said.

All the refugees bar a handful have been taken to a frontline crossing point on Serb buses escorted by UN soldiers. The others, including wounded and elderly, were brought to Sarajevo.

The civilians, mainly women and children but also many elderly, walk to the government-held town of Kladanj. From here they are taken to Zenica a large industrial town 60 kilometers (40 miles) away, to be housed in refugee centres.

ICRC Visits Troops Captured at Srebrenica

LD2707231995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2250 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 27 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb authorities have permitted the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] to visit Muslim troops captured when the Muslim enclave of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia was taken, the Belgrade office of the ICRC said on Thursday.

For the first time since Serb forces entered Srebrenica two weeks ago, an ICRC delegation was permitted to visit a group of Muslim troops in the town of Batkovic in northeastern Bosnia on Wednesday.

Such visits enable ICRC representatives to establish the identity of the Muslim troops, permit private talks between the Muslim troops and an ICRC delegate, and the writing of letters to their families, the statement said.

A list of the Muslim troops in Batkovic was immediately forwarded to the ICRC office in the town of Tuzla in northeastern Bosnia.

The ICRC expects representatives of this organization soon to visit other centers where captured Muslim troops are located, including the town of Bratunac north of Srebrenica, the statement said.

1,400 Killed; 9,000 Missing

AU2807120695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The casualties toll of the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina last week are 89 killed, of which 45 in Sarajevo, the Republican Headquarters for Health and Social Welfare reports. In Srebrenica, 1,400 killed and 9,000 missing persons have been identified so far.

The situation in the second safe haven, Zepa, which is threatened by an ethnic cleansing like the one in Srebrenica, is also worrying. The Republican Headquarters for Health and Social Welfare is thus appealing to the WHO, UNHCR, the International Red Cross, and all international humanitarian organizations to help in the evacuation of the injured, the sick, children, and the elderly from Zepa.

Bihac has been suffering fierce aggressor's attacks for a prolonged period of time. Last week 11 children were

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killed in Bihac and three sustained serious injuries. In Gorazde, 17 people were injured in the past week, six seriously who are in need of evacuation to larger medical facilities.

The situation in Sarajevo is very grave, too. In addition to the total blockade, the daily killing of the civilians continues. In the past week 45 civilians have been killed in Sarajevo, five of them children, while 184 civilians were injured, of whom 19 were children.

Karadzic: 'No Authorized' Contact Met Kozyrev

AU2707200995 Paris AFP in English 1945 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, July 27 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic sought Thursday to distance himself from a meeting between his military chief Ratko Mladic and Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

"No authorized representatives of the (self-declared) Serb Republic had contacts this time with the Russian delegation," Karadzic's office said, responding to a remark by Kozyrev on Wednesday in Moscow that he had met General Mladic in Belgrade.

Kozyrev said he had met Mladic on Monday as well as Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, but did not elaborate on the meeting.

"The (Bosnian Serb) Assembly has designated a six-member delegation led by the president of the republic (Karadzic) as the only negotiators," the statement said.

"All other officials, including army officers...don't have the right to have contacts with foreign delegations without the (president's) authorization," it added.

Belgrade officially broke of ties with Pale nearly a year ago, but General Mladic has maintained ties to Milosevic and the Yugoslav chief of staff and travels frequently to Belgrade to see his family.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Nikita Matkovski said that Russia had secured "a series of measures to reduce tension" in Bosnia-Herzegovina during Kozyrev's visit to Belgrade. Among those measures, "the Serbs have given their accord to not undertake military action on Gorazde," he said, adding that Moscow had submitted the text of the measures to the UN Security Council.

SRNA on Lifting Arms Embargo, Other Issues

LD2707231595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1915 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] London, 27 Jul (SRNA)—The outcome of the vote in the [U.S.] Senate on lifting the embargo on deliveries of arms to the Muslim government comes as a surprise to experts on American affairs because this issue has been transferred to the sphere of domestic politics and h nothing to do with the situation in the war zones of former Yugoslavia.

The above was stated in a commentary by Srdja Trifkovic, head of the office of the Serb Republic in London and a SRNA correspondent, who adds that one could expect with certainty that the Senate decision would get through in the House of Representatives and also that Bill Clinton would manage to resist the implementation of the Congress resolutions for some time.

Increased Chances of a Conflict Between the Serb Army and UNPROFOR—"Dual Key in Janvier's Pocket"

In a period of just one week, to be specific since Friday, 21 July, when the London conference was held, at which the so-called international community was expected to formulate its stand on former Bosnia-Herzegovina, the complex military and political situation has become further complicated.

From the operational point of view, a new turn was the outcome of the ambassadorial meeting of the 16 NATO member countries, held on Tuesday, 25 July. The ambassadors appealed to the UN secretary general to virtually give up his decisionmaking regarding military moves of the Western alliance and shift all responsibility for decisions on air strikes to the United Nations and the NATO military structure.

Although Butrus-Ghali bowed to the ultimatum of the Western alliance the following day, British commentators believe that not even General Janvier, commander of the peacekeeping forces in former Yugoslavia, will be more prepared than the UN civilian structure to offer the Americans a carte blanche to bomb as it pleases.

The possibility of the escalation of the conflict between the Blue Helmets and the Serb has, however, been increased by bringing the white-painted weapons to Mt. Igman. Last week the attention of commentators shifted from Gorazde to this mountain on the western approaches to Sarajevo, where UN forces are digging in their guns, preparing, as they themselves are saying, for the opening of the road towards the Muslim part of the city.

There is no need to emphasize the fact that the Igman road would be widely used for delivering arms, ammunition, and military equipment to the Muslim side. Likewise, one must note the readiness of some sections of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], especially the

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French, to take every available opportunity to give support in practice for the militant rhetoric of their president.

At the start of his mandate, Chirac needs to make the moves which would cement his reputation as a "decisive leader." For this reason he renewed nuclear tests in the South Pacific, despite worldwide protests, while no one is protesting against a hard-line attitude towards the Serbs.

All this leads the commentators here to warn that the possibility of the uncontrollable escalation of the conflict between the Serb Army and members of the "international forces" was now greater than at any time since the beginning of the war. However, even the West does not have a fully coordinated stand on this problem.

The credibility of threats to the Serbs that they would be bombed if they attacked the Muslim formations in Gorazde was called into question by new disagreements between the belligerent Americans and the more cautious British and French regarding the definition of the "protected zone." More precisely, the dilemma is whether this refers to "the entire Gorazde pocket" of just the urban area in the 3 km radius from the bridge on the Drina.

Apart from this, the Europeans whose soldiers are deployed as Blue Helmets on the ground would like the United Nations to retain whatever control it can over possible actions against Serbs, while the Americans would like a "carte blanche" for operations of unlimited proportions.

The fact that there are disagreements over technical and even fundamental matters between the Western allies does not mean that the Serb Republic should underestimate the risk of hasty moves by external factors. A catastrophically low level of a debate in the U.S. Senate on the lifting of the arms embargo on deliveries of arms to the Muslims is a good illustration of the "ability" of Western political circles to make mistakes with unforeseeable consequences.

Izetbegovic Sacrifices Pawns—Srebrenica and Zepa for Fresh Anti-Serb Hysteria and Weapons, Only Alternative for Serbs Is To Win the War

In recent weeks we have witnessed a significant increase in anti-Serb rhetoric without any effort to furnish answers to crucial questions about the background to the crisis and to consider the options which could lead to its final solution.

In almost daily statements in programs of the BBC and other radio and television networks, I have stressed that the essence of the present crisis is the fact that the United Nations proclaimed the so-called protected zones without doing anything towards their demilitarization. Unfortunately, with the exception of the eminent American columnist A. M. Rosenthal (in THE NEW YORK TIMES of 25 July), this key argument has been barely mentioned in the hundreds of other newspaper columns.

It is significant that, despite the threats, the message of the political and military leadership of the Serb Republic remains clear, the military status of these areas remains totally unacceptable. They serve as launching pads for Muslim attacks, while being at the same time zones which the Serbs are not allowed to touch under threat of mass bombardments.

Such perfectly rational arguments carry increasingly little weight in the present climate. Aware of the new atmosphere of heightened hostility against everything with a Serb name, certain well-informed British analysts, who for understandable reasons wish to remain anonymous, are asking why Izetbegovic so readily abandoned Srebrenica to its fate.

They conclude that it is probably the intention of the Muslim side to evoke in return a fresh wave of anti-Serb hysteria, which would halt [words indistinct].

In other words, in the Bosnian chess game Izetbegovic has, probably on American advice, sacrificed two pawns which he could not hold on to in any case, Srebrenica and Zepa, in order to create again the anti-Serb climate of 1992. The aim is clear, the blocking of any move, acceptable to the Serbs, towards a political solution, and the expectation that the flow of arms to the Muslims and Croats will lead to irrevocable changes in the balance of forces on the ground.

British sources conclude that the result of such a strategy by the Muslims and their American advisers will inevitably be the worsening of the conflict. "Aware of what awaits them," one British colleague says, "the Serbs now have no other option but to win the war."

And indeed, European commentators warn that the beginning of deliveries of American arms to the Muslims would be a sign to the Serb Army to launch a general offensive with the aim of crushing the bulk of the Muslim formations before any possible change in the balance of forces on the ground.

As usual, Izetbegovic's patrons and masters in Washington are in this way, consciously or unconsciously, acting to the detriment of their Sarajevo proteges, the commentary of Dr. Srdja Trifkovic concludes.

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ICRC Aid to Bosnian Serbs Detailed

LD2707194595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1634 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, July 27 (TANJUG)—The local office of the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] said Thursday that it had delivered 2.3 million Deutsche [German] marks worth of medical supplies to the Bosnian Serb Republic in the past three months.

The Banja Luka region received 1.3 million Deutsche marks worth of the medical aid in the three-month period.

The ICRC also delivered in the specified period 328,000 tonnes of food, 51,500 blankets, large quantities of detergents, soaps, and plastic coverings for provisional accommodations for scores of thousands of Serb refugees.

It provided various types of seed for about 80,000 farming families in the Bosnian Serb Republic.

Abdic Declares Republic of Western Bosnia

AU2707150095 Petrinja Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 26 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Republic of Western Bosnia headed by President Fikret Abdic was declared today in Velika Kladusa. Velika Kladusa Radio Velkaton emphasizes that this event crowns the victory the Western Bosnia People's Defense and that it is a logical next step in the chain of events following 27 September 1993, when the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia was declared in Velika Kladusa.

Based on the recommendation of the central committee for the declaration of the republic, Western Bosnia President Fikret Abdic, inspired by the yearning and wishes of the citizens of western Bosnia, declared the Republic of Western Bosnia. We received a report from our colleagues at Radio Velkaton.

[Begin Abdic recording] Equipped with all the essential segments of the economic, political, and military sphere, especially considering the fourfold legitimacy given by the citizens of Western Bosnia, I declare the Republic of Western Bosnia, as the best constitutive way of organizing the citizens of this neutral republic. [end recording]

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UN Spokesman Comments on Troop Buildup

AU2807120495 Paris AFP in English 1140 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 28 (AFP)—The United Nations Friday [28 July] reported a significant number of Croatian Army troops moving into Bosnia-Herzegovina and warned that Croatia might attack the Serbs "very soon," possibly in the coming days.

UN spokesman Christopher Gunness reported that "the large-scale movements of Croatian troops has continued towards the Kamensko crossing point from Croatia into Bosnia" and warned of military action very soon in the area.

"Concerning Croatia we fear a military action very soon, possibly within days," he told a press briefing. "In the Livno area we assess that there are about 8,000 to 10,000 HV (Croatian Army) and HVO (Bosnian Croat) troops which is a serious and alarming troop buildup," he said.

UN special envoy to the former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi earlier said "a significant number" of Croatian soldiers were moving into Bosnia for possible action relating to the situation in Bihac.

He urged "maximum restraint" on all parties so that "the situation does not degenerate."

RSK, Croatian Talks Proposed for Geneva 8 Aug

AU2707160595 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 Jul 95

[Report by Danko Peric from Knin]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Defense Ministry of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] reported in its morning announcement that the units of the Croatian Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] have incessantly been bringing in new forces and military hardware in the direction of the RSK borders. It is also said in this announcement by the Krajina Defense Ministry that Croatian Army units have been launching provocative attacks along several directions with a view to inciting major incidents and the HVO units have constantly been firing from artillery and tanks on civilian targets in Grahovo and the Grahovo Municipality districts in the Serb Republic.

It is said in this announcement that the Headquarters of the Krajina Serb Army, the Defense Ministry, and the Command of the North Dalmatia Corps have taken several measures with a view to strengthening the defense further, as it is more than clear that Croatia has been preparing an aggression against the territory of the RSK. Apart from the measures taken, the headquarters of the Serb Army of Krajina demanded that all conscripts in the North Dalmatia Corps currently engaged on working duties or other tasks outside their units have to urgently report to their units.

A consultative meeting was held in Knin today on the occasion of the forthcoming (?talks) between Krajina and Croatian sides in Geneva, planned for the beginning of August. It is said in the announcement by the Information Service of the president of the Republic that the talks touched upon the possible date of the meeting, as well as possible topics. Ambassador [word indistinct], who attended this consultative meeting, on behalf of the conference on former Yugoslavia conveyed to the Krajina negotiators the Croatian side's stand that the meeting cannot be held before 7 August, so the Krajina side suggested that the Croatian and Krajina delegations meet in Geneva on 8 August. Among other things, the sides should agree at that meeting about the date of the meeting between military commanders of the Serb Krajina Army and the Croatian Army, Generals Mrsic and Cervenko respectively, it is said in this announcement.

Party Leader Says Serbs' Human Rights Violated

LD2707213395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1828 GMT 27 Jul 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 27 (TANJUG)—President of the Zagreb-based Serb National Party Milan Djukic has accused the government of Franjo Tudjman of violating the human rights of the Serbs who have stayed to live in Croatia. Djukic set out that the housing and labour rights of Serbs were especially violated.

He asked on Croatian TV Wednesday evening why nobody in Croatia had distanced himself from the symbols and signs which were used today but were used not long ago, during World War II, by the Croatian Nazi-Fascists who were exterminating Serbs. He said that the Croatian press was fanning hatred and hostility towards Serbs.

Djukic said Croatian authorities were saying nothing about indications that the operation of ethnic cleansing carried out in western Slavonia in early May would to have a follow-up, this time in Zagreb.

According to UN estimates, about 300,000 Serbs have moved out of Croatia since the regime of Franjo Tudjman came to power and Croatia subsequently seceded from the former Yugoslav Federation.

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Army Chief Tours Osijek Operational Zone

LD2707193095 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Corps General Zvonimir Cervenko, the chief of the General Staff of the Croatian Army, arrived on a visit to the Osijek operational zone today. Major General Djuro Decak, the commander of the Osijek operational zone, briefed General Cervenko on the military and political situation in this zone.

The main aim of the visit, expected to last several days, of the Croatian Army chief of the General Staff is for him to become acquainted with the circumstances in eastern Slavonia and Baranja, and with the situation in all units of the Croatian Army attached to the Osijek operational zone.

Commentary Assesses Military Options at Bihac

AU2707211095 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jul 95 p 3

[Commentary by Mario Galic: "Cutting Through 'Krajina'—Salvation for the 5th Corps"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Fully in line with Karadzic's and Mladic's announcements, a great Serb offensive on Bihac has started. The basis of the Serb forces is the "Special Force Corps" from Slunj, which Mile Mrksic formed from "volunteers" from Serbia approximately a month ago. Although this corps was primarily formed for the purpose of the defense of "Krajina," it is obvious that it will also serve for making war against the 5th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The main objective of this new Serb offensive is the complete occupation of western Bosnia and the expulsion of the 200,000 Muslims living there. From there, they can only flee to Croatia, so it is clear that such a course of events cannot pass without a Croatian response. What, in fact, can Croatia do about it?

The first option has already been used, but the warnings issued by Croatian politicians have not influenced the Serb combat activities, since the Serbs have continued their offensive undisturbed. The second option is to amass Croatian Army troops toward "Krajina" in order to distract and tie up the Serb forces. This massing should be done toward Banovina, Kordun, and Lika, while HVO [Croatian Defense Council] troops should begin intensive preparations to advance further toward Bosansko Grahovo. If these measures yield no results, there is only one thing left, that is to attack "Krajina," which would probably mean an attempt to join the Croatian forces with the units of the 5th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

One of the directions of the attack mentioned most often is that from Livno Polje toward Bihac. Its advantages are the following: It goes through Bosnia, and it simultaneously isolates "Krajina" from Serbia. Its shortcomings are even greater. The air distance between Bihac and Bosansko Grahovo is 80 km and the configuration of the ground is very difficult, that is mountainous. Besides, or exactly because of it, Croat forces would also have to liberate the road from Bosansko Grahovo to Bihac, and that entails the liberation of the towns on that road, like Drvar and Bosanski Petrovac, as well as about 100 smaller towns and villages. It would be essentially different if the 5th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina were strong enough to again penetrate toward Bosanski Petrovac, but, under the present conditions, it is hard to expect something like that.

Therefore, a penetration from Croatia itself, through Kordun and Lika, is much more likely. There is an air distance of 50 km between Karlovac and Velika Kladusa, but this area is far more suitable for offensive operations than central Bosnia. Besides, we must not forget the fact that the Croatian fighters know this area much better than the area around Drvar and Bosanski Petrovac.

We find a similar situation with Lika, as well. There are 45 to 50 km of air distance from Otocac to the first defense lines of the 5th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Since the area around Slunj was inhabited mainly by Croats before the war, the Serbs have never managed to solve the problem of the successful defense of that area. Even now, they feel a great shortage of troops in that area, particularly now during the fighting around Bihac.

Although those two operations would provoke a strong negative reaction among some countries, they have undeniable advantages. Regardless of the direction of the penetration, whether from Karlovac or Otocac, the results are identical, "Krajina" will be cut in two and, by the capture of Bosansko Grahovo, Knin will be completely isolated, large Croatian territories liberated, and, which is not less important, there will be direct contact with the 5th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, according to all indicators, the best formation of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The negative reaction of the powerful Western countries is the greatest obstacle to begin such an operation. It is realistic to expect that pressure on Croatia will start immediately after the massing of the troops begins. This time, also, the solution could be a show-off bombardment by several NATO bombers, which would drop a dozen of bombs on targets of little importance and then proudly announce their task completed and

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that there is no need for Croatian involvement. This is all in line with the scenario we have already seen at Srebrenica. Whether the Croatian politicians will agree to that is another matter.

Commentary Urges Krajina Attack To Relieve Bihac

AU2707143195 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jul 95 p 5

[Commentary by Mario Galic: "One Minute to 12"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The situation around Bihac is becoming increasingly critical now that the Serb forces have advanced on the town in a fierce attack. An enormous force of 25,000 troops and 100 tanks is pushing the defenders back toward Bihac itself.

Faced with the threat of a Croatian Army attack, Mrksic [head of the Krajina Serb Army] has obviously decided to take the risk and attack the town itself. Thus the Serb leadership is trying to solve "the problem" of Bihac before the attack by Croatian forces. If they manage, they will gain a great advantage even if the 5th Corps [of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army] is not completely neutralized. Once he is in Bihac, Mrksic will be able to mobilize a great force to fight the Croatian Army, since he will have destroyed the strongest Bosniak stronghold in western Bosnia. True, the Croatian military planners were expecting Mrksic to have to transfer units from the Bihac front to the south, to Glamoc and Bosansko Grahovo as soon as the Croatian forces launched an attack on them. The attack has been launched, but the expected Serb reaction has not followed. It is obvious that the Serb generals have decided that the western Bosnia region is more important than Bosansko Grahovo and Glamoc, and that Zagreb is not yet ready to move in on Knin itself, otherwise Mrksic would have certainly reinforced the defenses of the "Krajina capital." Thus the indecision of Croatian policy is directly influencing the war developments.

Because of all this, western Bosnia and town of Bihac cannot be saved by NATO air strikes but only by a direct attack by the Croatian Army on the "Krajina," and an advance all the way up to western Bosnia, and I do not mean in three to four days, but now. If not, Bihac will probably weaken in its defense and Mrksic will have changed his present rather difficult position fundamentally. One should not forget that the Serb paramilitary forces are within reach of another larger center in western Bosnia, Cazin, the occupation of which would also significantly weaken the position of the 5th Corps.

If, within the next 48 hours, the Serbs manage to break the resistance of the 5th Corps and the Croatian Army does not launch its offensive, Mrksic will gain yet another powerful weapon: refugees. According to some sources, there are about 200,000 civilians there and the Bosnian Government even claims a figure of 300,000. If Mrksic were to get hold of just 100,000 of them, he could use them as human shields. This has all been seen before. A huge mass of civilians is directed at certain vital roads, along which the adversary could launch an offensive. Thus a veritable wall of bodies of women, children, and the elderly is formed, effectively blocking any operation by the opposite side. It is not at all hard to imagine several thousand unfortunate people at the access points to Karlovac, Gospic, even Knin, and well-armed Serb rebels behind them. To destroy a well-dug-in enemy would require powerful artillery preparation, which would in this case mean death for all these people, or at least a large number of them. Since something like that is completely unacceptable, the Croatian forces would remain helpless in their positions, while the Serb soldiers destroyed the last units of the 5th Corps.

Since NATO air strikes are still only a talking point, and even if they were undertaken it would be too late, the time for Croatian action is nigh. The attempt to draw the Serb forces toward Bosansko Grahovo and Glamoc has failed, so a new solution has to be found immediately or western Bosnia will fall into Serb hands. This would be the greatest refugee crisis since the outbreak of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also in Croatia since all these refugees, several hundred thousand of them, would certainly seek refuge in Croatia.

Krajina Serb Radio Reports New Government

AU2807115495 Petrinja Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] An extraordinary session of the Republic of Serb Krajina Assembly began yesterday in Topusko. The proposal of Milan Babic, the prime minister-designate, a list containing the names of 15 ministers with portfolio and six ministers without portfolio, was accepted. Mr. Babic's speech focused on the critical situation on the Krajina political scene and analyzed the work of the former government.

Babic proposed the following ministers: Milan Supud—defense; Toso Pajic—internal affairs; Svetozar Vincic—finance; Milan Bosnic—tourism and trade; Vaskrsije Vuksanovic—agriculture and forestry; Uros Funduk—justice; Stevan Djuric—health; Drago Kovacevic—information; Ranko Bakic—economic relations; Djuro Podunavac—education, culture, and religion; Branko Orelja—urban affairs; Milan Padjen—transport and communications; Vukasin Negic—energy and mining; Slobodan Peric—labor, veterans, welfare; Milivoj Vojnovic—foreign affairs. The six ministers

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without portfolio, who will also act as coordinators of the government administration, are Marko Atlagic, Milan Radmanovic, Milan Ernjakovic, Nikola Dobrijevic, Vojo Stanimirovic, and Ratko Gondi.

The session began a little after 1600 and its first part was attended by 57 out of 84 deputies. The session was attended by 18 of the 26 deputies from eastern Slavonia. Apart from the appointment of new government, the session will also view the political and military situation, the cause of the fall of western Slavonia, and the accommodation and care of refugees from that part of Krajina. Several deputies arrived after a recess, before the vote on the new government was taken, and the vote was 46 in favor, six against, with nine abstentions. General Mile Mrksic, the Republic of Serb Krajina Army commander, also took part in the activities of the Assembly and briefed deputies on the defense of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

Quite a few deputies took the floor during the discussion of the third agenda item, the report of the State Commission for determining the cause of the fall of western Slavonia. Owing to the complexity of the issue, this item will be also discussed this morning after 0900 hours. The Sstate Commission submitted the report to all the deputies. Today's session will also discuss the accommodation of western Slavonian refugees.

You will be able to hear a recording of yesterday's session today after 1100 hours.

Serb Army Protests to UN Over Cetina Attack

LD2707193995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1635 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 27 Jul (TANJUG)—The command of the 7th Corps of the Krajina Serb Army today lodged a sharp protest with the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Sector South Command in connection with last night's bombing of the Cetina Krajina, the Information Service of the Krajina Serb Army General Staff said in a statement.

According to ISKRA, the Croatian Army fired 42 shells on mainly civilian targets at 2310 last night. Material damage is considerable, but there are no civilian casualties, the statement says.

Martic Says 'Grahovo Has Not Fallen'

AU2807120395 Petrinja Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 28 Jul 95

[Interview with Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina, by Radovan Borovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received a recording from our colleagues at Serb Knin Radio. Radovan Borovic interviewed President Martic on the military situation in southern Dalmatia and current events in the Republic.

[Martic] An aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] was announced several days ago, this time openly backed by the international community. Galbraith's presence proves that. The Muslims and the Croats signed a declaration in Split to launch a joint attack on the Republic of Serb Krajina. Grahovo is definitely one of their main directions, to cut off the Glina communication, i.e. between the Republic of Serb Krajina, the Serb Republic, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

However, the real situation is much different than that described by the Croatian media. Grahovo has not fallen and I do not believe it will. The fact that it is shelled does not mean that it has been cut off. Our people still use that road. I personally passed that way in spite of the shelling and I will take that road again on the way back. I believe the area will be absolutely safe in a day or two.

[Borovic] President Martic commented on the report of the State Commission on the fall of western Slavonia that is to be discussed at the extraordinary session of the RSK Assembly in Topusko.

[Martic] I think that deputies, those who really want to [word indistinct] the people, understand the circumstances of the fall of western Slavonia. I believe they will be revealed some day. My answer, the truth, if I were to speak about it at this moment, would do no good either to me or to my people. Of course, I am the least important element in all that. I do not want to make things worse, but I am prepared to take the blame if I can save the people. However, the background of all that is very dark. As regards the report itself and what will be concluded, I am not worried and believe the Assembly will reject it.

[Borovic] The so-called Hague Tribunal for war criminals has declared the RSK president a war criminal, alleging that he was responsible for the bombing of Zagreb.

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[Martic] Personally, if that would save the Serb nation, if that would help finally restore the peace, and if the Krajina and the Serb Republic would be allowed to join Yugoslavia, I would agree to be extradited by Yugoslavia and to be held responsible. This may sound pathetic, but all of us who went into this were aware that we would have to be sacrificed for our nation.

Krajina Official Criticizes Hague Tribunal

AU2707150295 Petrinja Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 26 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Commenting on the arrival that was both announced and canceled yesterday of the representatives of the International Tribunal for War Crimes committed on the territory of former Yugoslavia, in a statement for ISKRA, Savo Strbac, president of the Veritas documentation and information center, characterized the act of the international tribunal in indicting Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina, Radovan Karadzic, president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, and Ratko Mladic, Serb Republic Army commander in chief, for war crimes, as unprofessional treatment of the Serb nation.

Yesterday, the two members of the international tribunal announced their arrival in Knin to visit the Veritas documentation and information center in collecting additional information about crimes committed by the Croatian Army and police against the Serbs in western Slavonia during Croatia's 1 May aggression against that part of the Republic of Serb Krajina, said Strbac.

Before their helicopter took off from Zagreb airport, we received an order from Richard Goldstone, the Tribunal's chief prosecutor, forbidding them to leave for Knin. Taken aback by the order, the judges sent their apologies to Veritas through the UN civilian affairs office announcing that they would arrive in Knin next week, Strbac goes on. According to him, the two judges who were supposed to fly to Knin were probably unaware at that point that the reason behind the ban on their trip was the indictment of Martic, Karadzic, and Mladic. The ban on their trip to Knin shows that Prosecutor Goldstone has a guilty conscience because he was forced by the order of some UN Security Council potentates to issue an indictment against the three men, added Strbac. The president of the Veritas documentation and information center, himself a lawyer and a former judge, thinks that Prosecutor Goldstone and all the judges of the Hague Tribunal have good reason to have a guilty conscience. Having indicted Martic, Karadzic, and Mladic, they confirmed our original view that the Hague Tribunal was founded by the UN Security Council to provide a judicial verification of the sentence already passed in the Security Council that the Serbs are the sole culprits for the war on the territory on former Yugoslavia.

Veritas sent word to Goldstone and all the Hague judges that "we are not surprised by your actions as we anticipated them," emphasizes Strbac. "On behalf of Veritas and the Serbs in the Republic of Serb Krajina, we ask the Hague Tribunal to answer the following question: Your honors, since you have convinced us that you would be unbiased and objective in your work, we would like to know what you have done with the files that Veritas has submitted so far? Where are the files of Gospic in October, 1991, Miljevac Plateau, Ravni Kotari, Medacki Dzep, western Slavonia in 1995, and many others that we gave to you and which you said provided sufficient and professional basis for arraigning the perpetrators of those war crimes against Serb civilians?

"We, members of Veritas," Strbac proceeds, "believe that there are a few honorable judges sitting in the Hague Tribunal who care about their position and consider it one of the most honorable professions. We expect that, after the latest abuse of the Hague Tribunal for political purposes, they will leave the so-called Hague Tribunal in protest on their own discretion and with a clear conscience."

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Defense Minister Assesses Military Situation

AU2807104895 Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jul 95 pp 7-8

[Interview with Defense Minister Blagoj Handziski by Jovica Trajkovic; place and date not given: "Macedonia Should Be Accepted as a Reality"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Blagoj Handziski, Macedonia's defense minister, is the second military minister in civilian clothes since Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] became independent. He was appointed last November, having been secretary general of the Socialist Democratic Union of Macedonia. He holds a doctorate in technical sciences from Zagreb University, but for some time now politics has been his priority in life.

[Trajkovic] Mr. Handziski, you have recently returned from the United States, where you were Mr. William Perry's guest for a week. The commentaries concerning this visit vary. Some claim that you went there to get weapons, since Macedonia has reached such a point in shaping its defense system; others say that the issue is an agreement on a new contingent of U.S. soldiers to be deployed in Macedonia soon; yet others believe that the aim of your visit was to specify details of a U.S. military umbrella over Macedonia. Which of these views is true?

[Handziski] My visit to the U.S. armed forces was a natural continuation of what was happening in the recent period. Our military cooperation with the United States began with the arrival of 550 U.S. soldiers in Macedonia within the UN peace mission. This played a positive role in easing the tension on our northern and western borders. However, before that we had two memoranda from Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton, which, in fact, were a demand for guarantees of our borders. With the arrival of the U.S. troops, the cooperation became more extensive, to a great extent because the United States has a great interest in peace in this region, in the strengthening of the southern flank of NATO, and the preservation of relations between Turkey and Greece, both NATO members. Therefore, there is interest on both sides, as well as the desire for Macedonia to be a kind of a stabilizer of the situation in the Balkans, the key factor for peace. This is the only way to keep what is happening in Bosnia within a local framework, so to speak. If a conflict breaks out in Macedonia or Kosovo, the destabilization of the entire region will be inevitable. All the neighbors will be involved in the conflict, including Turkey. Streams of refugees will be pouring in all directions and there will be complete chaos in the Balkans.

The aim of my visit to the United States was to arrange the ways and means to preserve peace in the Balkans, rather than purchase weapons or have another U.S. contingent brought here, and the these views are mere speculations.

[Trajkovic] Nevertheless, in the United States you procured considerable military aid for Macedonia, primarily financial, did you not?

[Handziski] We happened to be there when they were discussing the 1996 budget, which is usually debated in October, and managed to win a considerable amount, on the basis of aid to members of the Partnership for Peace initiative. Specifically, we received one million dollars from the IMET [International Military Education and Training] program for the training of our personnel, as well as equipment. In September, a number of our officers from all ranks are going for training at U.S. military academies. We also received another $250,000 in equipment for our military academy, which will start functioning this autumn.

[Trajkovic] So no weapons will be arriving?

[Handziski] You know that we are under the arms embargo, just like all the other former Yugoslav republics, and the Americans are abiding by that. We and the Slovenes have submitted requests for the embargo against us to be lifted, since we have done nothing to contribute to the escalation of the war in former Yugoslavia, and the Americans are supporting our demand, but so far this is as far as it has gone. Aid will be provided in any form but in weapons.

[Trajkovic] At present, Macedonia wants to join both the Partnership for Peace initiative and NATO. Several years ago, the demilitarization of Macedonia and its defense organization after the Swiss model were topical. How did such a radical change in the defense concept come about?

[Handziski] The demilitarization of Macedonia was an option of a minor extraparliamentary opposition party. The state has had a different concept from the beginning and has defined it through a special resolution in the Macedonian Assembly; that is, it clearly expressed its wish to become a member of NATO. We simply want to be part of a collective defense system, since we believe that this is what would suit Macedonia best within the well known surroundings. Therefore, the issue does not reflect radical change in our defense concept.

We Are Neither Weak nor Helpless

[Trajkovic] How do you intend to provide the means for the organization of a modern army? Aid from abroad

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will certainly not be sufficient and at present Macedonia is far from wallowing in money.

[Handziski] The belief that a great amount of money is necessary to organize a modern army or reorganize it is wrong. For instance, the Bulgarians presented to their public $19 billion as the amount necessary to reorganize themselves and join NATO. This is absolutely untrue. However, there is something else, which is completely clear, and that is that no country that is not capable of organizing the defense of its territory will be joining NATO. You are not accepted into NATO so that they can defend you. Therefore, regardless of whether or not you join NATO, you have to secure the defense of your country as far as your potential will allow. The size of the Macedonian Army is in accordance with international standards of forces in peacetime at between 0.6 and 1 percent of the overall population, with the other [in times of war] 10 times greater. Here, the peacetime forces are 0.7 percent, while our military one is 7 percent of the overall population. Considering the above, as a small country we will be spending much less on equipping our army than some of our neighbors are.

Moreover, there is very little difference between our organizational model and that of the United States. This is where we have an advantage over the Bulgarians, for instance. We are also at an advantage as far as communications and logistics are concerned. Our communications system—by this I mean the technology—is old, but compatible with Western technology, which is not the case with some of our neighbors. Therefore, we are going to incur minimal expenses for logistics, communications, and organizational restructuring. What remains is the problem of modern weaponry, since we are under an embargo and undergoing a difficult economic crisis. However, we hope that the embargo will soon be lifted and that we will slowly, but surely, start to recover from the crisis as early as this autumn.

Finally, we have not just been sitting around over the past few years; we have been very much involved in acquiring equipment for our army. We were able to do so because several so-called special-purpose production factories remained in Macedonia, which, at present, indeed do not function at full capacity, since they used to work for the entire former Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], but they do function.

[Trajkovic] What is your comment on the claim that Macedonia is the weakest military force in the Balkans—weaker even than the police? Malicious people sometimes say that Macedonia has one tank and a few rifles. So as to respond to these claims, could you give us some general information about the Macedonian Army?

[Handziski] I cannot give you details for obvious reasons, but I will tell you that the Macedonian Army consists of an air force, antiaircraft defenses, and ground troops. We do have some aircraft and helicopters, as well as tanks and other armored vehicles, and we are not short of artillery weapons, either. The units that have the most modern weapons are the border units, which consist of professionals. Where did we get those weapons? The former JNA did not take anything away with it that belonged to the territorial defense. We produce ammunition and mines ourselves in our factories so, as you can see, we are not as weak and helpless as is generally believed. Naturally, we are weaker than some of our neighbors, since a country of 2 million people cannot be compared to a country of 5 or 10 million, but we are certainly not helpless.

[Trajkovic] I have the impression that Macedonia does not care very much about being a powerful military force in the Balkans. Is the issue the position of Macedonia's authorities that diplomacy is the most powerful army?

[Handziski] First of all, there can be no question about this: Foreign policy has an extremely positive and constructive effect on the defense of the country. However, that is neither the most important nor the only factor. Each day we improve the combat readiness of the country, and contacts with Germany, Turkey, the United States, and England are very important in this. In these contacts, our advantages become very clear. We have highly qualified military personnel in all our corps and army morale is higher than is the case with some of the neighbors. A peaceful foreign policy combined with an army organized in a modern way make up the type of state that Macedonia wants to create in the Balkans.

Foreign Policy Has Kept the Peace

[Trajkovic] Your surroundings are not at all friendly. In three years there have been as many as 485 border incidents, in which 12 people have been killed and nine wounded. The Serb Army once took over the Cupino Brdo elevation. The Greeks have violated your air space several times and there seems to be a chill on the border with Albania.... How would you account for the fact that all this has not disturbed the peace in Macedonia?

[Handziski] I would not comment on the information that you have just presented, because mine is different, but I will answer the second part of your question. The foreign policy that our authorities have been implementing is what has kept the peace, but, most of all, it is also the internal peace in the state of Macedonia.

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If there had not been internal peace and stability, the smallest incident would have been enough to light the fuse. There have indeed been outside attempts to interfere and cause destabilization, but, fortunately, we have secured a considerable degree of homogeneity on the key issues concerning the internal state organization and have kept the peace.

Moreover, the UN forces have also greatly contributed to the keeping of peace on our borders, particularly the northern one. UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] earlier, and UNPREDEP [UN Preventive Deployment] now, played a key role in the incident concerning the Cupino Brdo elevation that the Serb Army seized. At that time we were prepared to go to war, because we could not allow a foreign army to install itself on our territory. Fortunately, with UNPROFOR's great help, things were worked out. It is always better to have diplomacy solve a problem and the UN peacekeepers did their best to straighten out the conflict before it escalated.

[Trajkovic] The border with Serbia has not been precisely defined. Are you afraid that it may become the subject of new incidents or an invasion or do you believe that danger looms from some other side—perhaps from all sides?

[Handziski] There is very little possibility of an invasion from the south, west, or east. We are not afraid of an invasion from the north, either, but it is on that side that the situation is the most specific. They are deliberately keeping the Macedonian issue open. They claim that there are no disputed issues and yet mutual recognition has not yet taken place. The reasons for this lie, on the one hand, in the fact that the so-called Macedonian issue is kept open to meet their needs and, on the other hand, in their relations with Greece. They are simply helping Greece in directing pressure so as to put a strain on some of the imposed issues. Moreover, it is important to note that certain radical communist forces in Serbia are openly displaying their aspirations towards the south, wanting to establish a permanent Serbian-Greek border. Third, whenever things were very difficult for us internally or important political events took place, the provocations would intensify. This was the case before the census, before the elections, and during the misunderstanding concerning the Albanian university in Tetovo. There are always incidents aimed at heating up the atmosphere and influencing political events in Macedonia. This should not be so, because we believe that with our policy we are doing good to all our neighbors. Our country must be accepted as a reality, so that we can have good neighborly relations.

As far as the threat from the west is concerned, this is the state of affairs: Albania is under a great influence from the United States and, since it is in its interest that Albania and Macedonia are stable, it is not very likely that its relations toward us can change, though nothing should be ruled out. The situation there is difficult and, whenever this is so, it is always those who want to resolve the Albanian issue in the Balkans globally that speak up the most loudly. These "protectors" of Albanianness could be dangerous, but I do not believe that there will be any radical changes while Berisha is in power. The problem is that opinion polls have shown that if elections were held now, he would not remain in power. This is why everything is being done to change the balance of power to his advantage before the elections.

As far as the Bulgarians are concerned, I think that these young authorities should not be so burdened by history. With the Bulgarians we have a problem of our language not being recognized, which is why we have not been able to sign many documents on cooperation, including military cooperation. They do not want documents signed in Bulgarian and Macedonian, but I think that we will soon get the problem sorted out and that things will soon start developing in the right direction.

As far as the Greeks are concerned, I will make it short: I do not expect the Greeks to invade, either.

Concessions to NATO

[Trajkovic] After you returned from the United States, you announced joint U.S.-Macedonian-Albanian maneuvers, did you not?

[Handziski] Yes. What lies behind this is a desire for good relations with all our neighbors. We want good military cooperation with all the countries with which we have good political relations. We believe that cooperation in the defense sphere creates trust and preserves peace and stability in a region. We are prepared for such cooperation with all the neighbors with which we have diplomatic relations. Therefore, the issue is not cooperation with one of the sides at the expense of another, but a permanent orientation. If conditions have been met for maneuvers with our western neighbor, perhaps the same will be the case with someone else in the future. [passage omitted]

[Trajkovic] There are many officers of other nationalities in the Macedonian Army. Many see this as an argument for predicting that the army will fall apart rather as the former JNA did, that it will come apart "along its ethnic seams."

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[Handziski] The Gligorov-Adzic agreement obliges us to accept everyone who wanted to stay and we have abided by it. We have in our Army Slovenes, Croats, Muslims, Serbs, and Albanians—though, naturally, there are more Albanians than other minorities. One of them has been promoted to the rank of general and he will not be the only one. The military academy, which will start functioning soon, is going to see to that. What you are trying to suggest with your question is not going to happen in the Macedonian Army. I am convinced that all the citizens of this country are going to defend it, not just the Macedonians. There is no reason for this not to be the case. We care about all our citizens the same way and they will surely appreciate it.

[Trajkovic] Mr. Handziski, will professionals make up most of the Macedonian Army or will it rely on regular conscripts and part-time forces?

[Handziski] We will never aim at the full professionalization of the army because this would be too expensive for us, but there are already some professionals in our army and there will be more. The professionals will handle the most expensive equipment and serve in the most sensitive positions. The rest of the army, that is, the greatest part of the army, will be conscripts.

[Trajkovic] Finally, I would like to ask you whether it is true that Krivolak will become a U.S. base.

[Handziski] We have never discussed military bases in Macedonia, but, since NATO is going to be our orientation, we must also take on certain obligations. Membership in the Partnership for Peace and NATO does not only imply rights, but also obligations. This means that we are prepared to meet our obligations in advance. If, within these obligations and this strategy, the need arises for joint NATO forces to be here, we will take on that obligation. However, that need not mean that only U.S. military forces will be here or that they will be the only ones to use the base. We have not discussed any specific form of U.S. presence in Macedonia or their military bases being installed here. However, I would like to repeat that, if we become a NATO member, we will take on all the obligations.

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Mazowiecki Letter of Resignation to UN

WS2807111195 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Jul 95 p 7

[Letter of resignation by UN Human Rights Envoy Tadeusz Mazowiecki to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Secretary General: The developments of the last several weeks in Bosnia, particularly the fact that the UN allowed the fall of Srebrenica and Zepa and the horrific tragedies experienced by people within the enclaves protected by international security guarantees, force me to conclude that I no longer see a possibility of holding the mandate of special rapporteur that I received from the UN Human Rights Commission.

When I was granted the mandate in August 1992, I accepted it, clearly stating that I wish not only to draw up reports but to help the people. The establishment of security zones was one of the basic recommendations of my reports from the very beginning. I find the agreements of the London conference which acknowledged the fall of Srebrenica and deemed the fates of Zepa sealed before it was besieged inadmissible. Those agreements failed to create conditions for defending all security zones.

The recent developments are a turning point in the whole situation in Bosnia. We are dealing both with a war waged by a UN member state to preserve its existence and its multiethnic character and a fight for the basic principles of international order. Speaking of protecting human rights is meaningless in the context of a lack of consistency and courage on the part of the international community and its leaders. The true state of human rights we have achieved is currently illustrated by the tragedy of the people of Srebrenica and Zepa.

Violations of human rights ruthlessly continue; it is difficult for humanitarian aid supplies to get through; civilians are in danger of being shot; soldiers wearing blue helmets and representatives of relief organizations are being killed. Crimes are committed very swiftly and ruthlessly, and the reactions from the international community are always belated and inconsistent.

The very nature of my post means that all I could do is continue to describe crimes and instances of violation of human rights. The current crisis is a suitable moment for recognizing both the very nature of the crimes and the responsibility Europe and the international community bear for their helplessness. How can one have faith in a Europe of tomorrow created by the children of the very people that are being deserted today?

I would like to believe that the current moment will become a turning point for the relations of Europe and the rest of the world with Bosnia, where the future fates of the stability of international order and the principles of civilization are currently being determined. I am not, however, fully convinced this will occur and thus cannot take part in an ostensible protection of human rights.

Mister Secretary General, I wish to ask you your understanding for the motives of my resignation.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki

Mazowiecki Provides Explanation

LD2707123595 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1100 GMT 27 Jul 95

[Interview with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, special envoy of the UN Human Rights Commission to the former Yugoslavia, by Sylwia Wysocka in Geneva on 27 Jul—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Wysocka] When did you realize that your mission was a struggle for fictional human rights in Yugoslavia?

[Mazowiecki] All the time I was dealing with the problem of to what extent I could help these people and to what extent that was a fiction. But this is not an issue, that my mission is a struggle for a fiction. The issue is that if we do not help, generally, in defending human rights, we are talking about a mere fiction.

[Wysocka] Was your decision prompted by the latest visit to Tuzla where you visited refugees from Srebrenica, which had been taken by the Serbs?

[Mazowiecki] Yes, but first of all it had been prompted by the London conference, the results of which I consider highly unsatisfactory.

[Wysocka] So, what can be done for Bosnia now?

[Mazowiecki] One has to adopt a single resolute line; the safe havens have to be defended; and attacks against the blue helmets have to be prevented, as they are also under threat—and one has to work out a single resolute stand, which does not exist.

Czech, Polish Defense Ministers Hold Talks

LD2707123895 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Czech Minister of Defense Vilem Holan arrived in Warsaw this morning on an official two-day visit. Our Warsaw correspondent Miroslav Karas has more details.

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[Karas] Immediately after his arrival, Minister Holan met his Polish counterpart, Polish Defense Minister Zbigniew Okonski. Both delegations are currently holding talks.

Before the meeting, Okonski told Czech radio that Czech-Polish bilateral relations are very good these days. In Okonski's view, Poland and the Czech Republic share the ambition to become a part of West European military structures. According to Okonski, the ministers will discuss their experiences with integration into NATO and the Western European Union, and also the Partnership for Peace project and further steps in both the political and military spheres.

Regarding bilateral relations, an exchange of military academy officers and experiences learned from the transformations of the armed forces and a hierarchy of command and modernization of the armies, will be discussed. Minister Okonski wants to talk particularly about the development of joint research projects in the aircraft industry. I imagine that cooperation will take place especially in developing training aircraft and helicopters, Zbigniew Okonski said.

He also noted that both Poland and the Czech Republic had similar military doctrines, including the organization of civilian supervision of the armies. If we join our efforts to become members of NATO, we will convince our partners more effectively, Okonski told Czech radio.

In the afternoon both ministers will talk to journalists. Later on they will visit the Polish aircraft company in Warsaw.

Ministers Comment

LD2707134595 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1246 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 27 Jul—Poland and the Czech Republic are interested in cooperation between their armaments industries, especially in the military aviation industries. Poland is considering the possibility of purchasing L159 Albatros light combat aircraft, whereas the Czech Republic is considering the purchase of Huzar helicopters. This was stated today at a news conference given in Warsaw by the defense ministers of the two countries.

Cooperation could also extend to joint production of a wheeled transporter and ammunition. The Czechs are also interested in the Polish experience of adapting military legislation to NATO standards.

National Defense Minister Zbigniew W. Okonski said that the joint intentions will depend upon finances. In his view, the Polish Iryda does not meet the requirements for a combat plane, but, on the other hand, does meet the requirents for a training aircraft. "The dilemma is how to fill this gap," the minister stated.

Czech Defense Minister Vilem Holan confirmed that his country feels the independent road of entry to NATO "to be optimal." At the same time, he stressed, the Czech Republic wishes to maintain and develop good relations with its neighbors. "We do not treat entry to NATO as a race. There are no reasons for Poland not to be the first to enter the North Atlantic Alliance. This would be favorable for us. Our northern border would then be secure. We will suport each other on the road to NATO, and not block each other," Holan told journalists.

The news conference by the two defense ministers took place after the conclusion of plenary talks, in the course of which the political and economic situation of both states, transformations in both armies, and the adaptation of both armies to NATO standards were discussed.

Minister on Civilian Control of Armed Forces

WS2707115695 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 26 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by "AXW": "Defense Minister Answers Listeners' Questions: What the Armed Forces Need Are...Civilians"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *In an interview aired on 25 July on the Third Program of Polish Radio, Defense Minister Zbigniew W. Okonski announced that new instructions are to be issued any moment on the security of arms stores. According to the head of the Ministry of National Defense [MON], this will help to prevent incidents resembling the recent theft of arms from a military unit in the Bemowo district of Warsaw. Asked whether the commander of the unit where 75 P-64 handguns with ammunition were stolen would be disciplined, Minister Okonski said he will make a decision after he reads a report prepared by the team established to investigate the incident, a team headed by the chief of Board of Operations and Planning at the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces, Brigadier General Leszek Chyla.*

The majority of questions listeners of the Third Program asked Minister Okonski pertained to the prospects for Poland's NATO membership, the subordination of the head of the General Staff to the civilian management at MON, and the possibilities of generating more resources for modernizing the Armed Forces. Minister Okonski reminded listeners that even before the new law on the office of the defense minister was passed on 29 June, it was beyond any doubt that the head of the MON is the superior of the chief of the General Staff. The

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new law provides that the Military Information Services [WSI] too are subject to the defense minister. "I decide on who is to be the next military attache in a given country, and on who is the head and deputy head of WSI. I allocate funding, receive reports, issue orders, decide where tapping devices are to be installed."

Okonski announced that an office for integration into NATO is to be developed at MON. He reminded everyone that the implementation of the Partnership for Peace Project will cost us $8 million this year. MON estimates that the sum will be two or three times higher next year.

Minister Okonski admitted that still too few civilians occupy top administration positions at MON. He said he will try to change that. One of the indications of a new approach is the nomination of Marek Krupinski, formerly deputy director of the LOT Polish Airlines to head of the Military Foreign Affairs Department. The minister said that professional skills and abilities will be the criterion for filling top posts at the ministry. Regardless of those activities, preparations are under way to cut both civilian and military staffing in MON.

Referring to the coming presidential campaign, the defense minister reminded all that officers are forbidden to take part in preelection rallies and meetings. "The professional soldiers must realize that if they exceed their authority and become active in the election campaign, there will be no place for them in the Armed Forces," said Minister Okonski.

Su-22 Crash Caused by Bomb Under Wings of Plane

LD2707211895 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1723 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Warsaw, 27 Jul—According to unofficial information from the Ministry of National Defense, the probable cause of Wednesday's accident involving an Su-22 airplane in which Major Jerzy Stramek, the pilot, was killed was the explosion of one of the bombs carried beneath the wings of the plane. After dropping a single bomb at the Air Force ranges at Nadarzyce (Pila Voivodship), the fuse of a second bomb activated prematurely and the plane exploded in the air.

Major General Franciszek Maciola, commander of the 4th Air Corps, expects the report of the commission examining the causes of the accident to be ready by the middle of next week. He said during a news conference in Poznan that it was most probably the new and not completely tried and tested armament of the plane that failed, armament that was, among other things, being tested in the course of this experimental flight.

"I have seen the tapes recording this, and for me it is obvious that the cause was an explosion in the air. However, until we have the commission's report, it is appropriate to refrain from issuing evaluations, so as not to prejudice anything," he stated. [passage omitted]

Official on Recent Crashes

LD2707155595 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1400 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Major-General [general brygady] Franciszek Maciola, commander of the 4th Air Corps, claims that the pilot who died in the crash of a Su-22 plane in Nadarzyce yesterday did not commit an error. The general was a witness to the tragedy and maintains that the low flying height was not the cause of the accident. At the same time, General Maciola denied the report that Polish pilots are now flying at a lower level than before. The TV program "Panorama" citing unofficial information, reported yesterday that, in the framework of adapting training standards to the requirements of NATO, Polish pilots are carrying out training flights at low levels, down to a few dozen meters above ground level. In the view of "Panorama" informants, our combat planes do not have the appropriate electronic equipment for such exercises. General Maciola feels that the cause of the series of military flying accidents is the rather low—due to economic reasons—number of hours being flown by the pilots. Citing unofficial sources, the Poznan station Radio Merkury has reported that the pilot of the Su-22 fighter-bomber that crashed yesterday was testing six new bombs at the instructions of the Air Force command. The bombs, underslung beneath the wings of the aircraft, were being released two at a time. Most probably, one of them exploded on release, which means that it is in this case difficult to speak of pilot error. Most probably, it was an equipment or ground-servicing failure. Fragments of the 250 kg bomb damaged the plane in the air; at that moment the pilot was probably no longer alive. At present, a special commission is examining film records of the accident and the so-called black box of the crashed aircraft. The training flight of the Su-22 was being observed by a special group, strung out along the flight path, and the flight was also being filmed. Five Polish military planes have crashed and four pilots have been killed since the beginning of the year. In the view of Minister of Defense Zbigniew Okonski, it is not possible to say that the series of military flying accidents has the same cause. This might be human error or the faulty functioning of equipment.

[Begin Okonski recording] A deeper analysis has to be carried out. Why precisely is it that this happens, that equipment fails at certain moments and people fail at

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certain moments? These are good planes, technically. We have a hundred of these planes. They have been in use for the last 20 years, at various times with varying intensity. Until now, we have had very sporadic accidents. We must examine this, see whether this is just a matter of circumstance, irrespective of human will. An issue arises here, namely that our pilots are able to fly ever less on account of the money that we are able to allocate for these flights. [end recording]

New Poll Released on Presidential Hopefuls

WS2707115895 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27 Jul 95 p 2

[Report by "NIKA": "He Does Not Have To Be a Patriot, as Long as He Is Educated"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Kwasniewski is definitely leading; Gronkiewicz-Waltz, Kuron, and Zielinski are following him. These are the results of the latest OBOP [Center for Research on Public Opinion] poll. We would like to have an educated, honest, and truth-telling president.*

Over the past several days, this was the third public opinion poll on the presidency. All of the polls were conducted at the same time. OBOP results are quite similar to those received by CBOS [Public Opinion Research Center]. Let us recall that two days ago we wondered how much real support candidates had, since CBOS reported, for example, 23-percent support for Kwasniewski, while Demoskop gave him 32 percent. Quite substantial differences were also reported with regard to other candidates.

Aleksander Kwasniewski won the latest OBOP ranking. Among people who have decided to participate in the elections, 23 percent would vote for him. The second place is contested by four candidates. Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz received the highest number of votes—12 percent—and Jacek Kuron came next, with 10 percent. Both Lech Walesa and Tadeusz Zielinski scored 9 percent (in the CBOS poll, Walesa had 14 percent, which places him second, and Zielinski had not 9 but 11 percent—these are merely the differences between the two agencies' rankings).

Among the remaining presidential candidates, Waldemar Pawlak and Jozef Zych received 4 percent each, and Adam Strzembosz 3 percent. Two percent of respondents would support Jan Olszewski or Zbigniew Religa, and 1.5 percent would support Jan Pietrzak, Leszek Moczulski, and Stanislaw Tyminski.

Eighty percent of the participants in the OBOP poll declared their readiness to participate in the elections. Still, only 58 percent would vote for sure.

OBOP also asked its respondents about the type of personality required to become president. It proves that as few as 4 percent of those polled believe that the national leader should be a patriot. Only two other traits—respect and eloquence (3 percent each)—were named less frequently.

An appropriate education (38 percent) is most important in the opinion of respondents. Such qualities as truthfulness and honesty are almost as important as intelligence and reasonableness (25 percent). Half as many people want a president to be fair (13 percent) or resolute (12 percent). Only political experience is valued more (17 percent).

Other traits were named by less than 10 percent of the participants in the poll. Most of these named appearance (9 percent) and social awareness. The ability to reach compromises was named by as little as 5 percent of respondents.

Official on BEM Conference in Washington

WS2807075695 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Jul 95 pp 1, 9

[Article by Sylwester Walczak in Washington: "Next BEM Conference To Be Held in Warsaw? Playing in the Global Market"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] "Even if the U.S. Government conceived the Big Emerging Markets [BEM] project with the purely selfish intention of exporting as many of its goods as possible, the concept is very beneficial for Poland," Andrzej Byrt, deputy minister of foreign economic cooperation, told the RZECZPOSPOLITA correspondent. "First of all, being included among the 10 Big Emerging Markets is a free advertising campaign, worth tens of millions of dollars, for which the Americans are paying. Second, even if their involvement in Poland was limited exclusively to exporting goods, 90 percent are goods that do not exist on the Polish market anyway."

Deputy Minister Byrt claims that U.S. exports to Poland—primarily technologically advanced machinery and equipment—will help modernize Polish industry and enhance its exporting capacity. "That can easily be proved," says Byrt. "In the first half of 1995 Polish exports rose by 40 percent in the sectors of industry that got a booster shot from foreign technology." Waldemar Dabrowski, president of the Polish Agency for Foreign Investment added that imports and investment always immediately follow exports. "Thanks to the U.S. BEM project, Poland has turned from a 'regional player' into an 'international player,'" he said. [passage omitted]

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NBP Head: Bank Should Retain Auditing Functions

WS2807075895 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27 Jul 95 p 8

[Article by Andrzej Witul: "The NBP President Warns: We Will Be a Money Laundry"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The National Bank of Poland [NBP] claims banks will not be able to notify the prosecutor's office of a committed crime if they discover that "dirty money" from gambling, theft, or terrorism has reached them. Such transactions will be protected by a bank secrecy law thanks to the Sejm which neglected motions by the NBP when passing the law on trade confidentiality.*

The staple catalogue of crimes provides only for money generated by the drug trade, currency forgery, arms trade, and ransom. The law on trade secrets places banks under an obligation to carry out their own investigations into the legality of the source of that money. "Such solutions will turn Poland into a money laundry," said Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz yesterday.

Those solutions also violate guidelines adopted by the EU and provisions of the association agreement signed between Poland and the EU. "Regulations that are incompatible with European standards pose a risk that the Polish financial sector might find itself in isolation," we read in an NBP report.

Laundering Does Not Interest the Prosecutor's Office

Before the law on trade secrets became effective on 12 October 1994, rules issued by the NBP president were the only legal acts preventing Polish banks from being involved in money laundering.

Banks reported a total of 32 crimes over that period. The cases, however, usually got stuck in the prosecutor's office. The central bank president has a very negative opinion of cooperation with the prosecution agencies. From 1992 to May 1995, banks notified the prosecutor's office of 8,500 crimes—2,187 cases were dropped, and on 417 counts the prosecutor's office refused to instigate proceedings. In all, a third of all the reported cases were dropped.

Bankers also reported being threatened by policemen for refusing to disclose certain information. The prosecutor's office does not treat private banks and banks in which the State Treasury holds shares evenly. Loan extortion in the case of state banks end in drawing up an indictment, whereas in the case of private banks the cases are usually dropped. The prosecutor's office sometimes reopened a case if the same person attempted to extort a loan from a state bank.

The Fight for Audits

In this context, the issue of bank auditing functions, of which the coalition is trying to deprive the NBP, is becoming ever more important. Last year, auditing inspectors examined more than half of the banks. In the West, audits are being replaced with financial report inspections carried out by financial experts. Polish law, however, does not provide for any disciplinary sanctions for experts who testify a financial report is accurate even if the banking audit reveals fraud in the balance sheets.

"Depriving the NBP of its auditing authority will undermine the effectiveness of banking control," claim central bank experts. "NBP is responsible for the payment system and the stability of the banking sector. It is also supplies funds and takes part in restructuring the banks. That is why it should also have auditing functions."

Even if the banking audits were carried out by a separate institution, NBP would still have to monitor banks because it is responsible for the stability of the payment and banking systems. Out of the former CEMA countries, only Hungary followed the German model and separated banking audits from the central bank. Currently, as Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz says, they are considering returning to the previous system. In only 11 countries out of the 114 that have been inspected does the central bank perform auditing functions.

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Slovakia's Meciar Views Hungarian Treaty, Departs

AU2707181495 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1600 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] This afternoon, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar concluded his official visit to Romania. During his two-day visit, Meciar was received by Romanian President Ion Iliescu and held talks with Chamber of Deputies Speaker Adrian Nastase, Senate Speaker Oliviu Gherman, Foreign Affairs Minister Teodor Melescanu, and other officials.

During the visit, they also concluded the Romanian-Slovak Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation Treaty. [passage omitted]

Slovakia hopes that Romania will sign a basic treaty with Hungary, the stipulations of which should be much better than those of the Slovak-Hungarian treaty, Prime Minister Meciar stated during a news conference held before the conclusion of his visit. Meciar also said that the two treaties cannot be compared, as each state adapts such documents to suit its domestic circumstances.

He pointed out that Slovakia observes the individual rights of the citizens belonging to ethnic minorities, and that [Council of Europe] Recommendation 1201 cannot be conceived as the acknowledgment of collective rights.

Vladimir Meciar also stated that, during his meeting with representatives of the ethnic Slovak minority in Romania, he found that they are loyal to the Romanian state, and, at the same time, he expressed his appreciation for the tolerant policy promoted by the Bucharest Government.

Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu reiterated Romania's stance regarding the basic treaty with Hungary, pointing out that, despite the readiness of the Romanian party to conclude the aforementioned treaty, Romania cannot accept the claims referring to collective rights and territorial autonomy.

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Suligoj To Become New General Staff Commander

AU2707180395 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The government was expected to appoint Defense Ministry State Secretary Bojan Suligoj to be the new Slovene Army General Staff Commander today. Suligoj will replace Albin Gutman who has been in the post since 1993.

However, the government, according to the new Defense Law in charge of appointments, did not include this topic on its agenda because the proposal of Defense Minister Jelko Kacin for the above replacement failed to win unanimous support at the morning correspondence session of the government's Commission on Personnel. According to our reports, only one member of this Commission, Interior Minister Andrej Ster, opposed the replacement. Ster was of the opinion that such an important decision should be made at a regular session of the government's Commission on Personnel. For that reason the government decided that the Personnel Commission would debate this issue tomorrow and the government at a regular session next week. Let us listen to what Defense Minister Kacin had to say about this to our reporter Robert Skerjanc:

[Begin recording] [Kacin] The proposal that I forwarded for consideration states that the replacement is consensual and proposed in agreement with the current General Staff commander who will assume a new post in the Defense Ministry in autumn. It was the fulfillment of certain preconditions for the next phase of development of the Slovene defense system that prompted me to propose this replacement. Namely, the government today also passed a military defense doctrine which had been debated previously and had been conveyed to the government by the Operative Defense Headquarters. This creates the preconditions whereby in the next phase of development of the defense system we will be able to pursue the direction drawn by this doctrine in strengthening the General Staff, development of individual Slovene Army branches, our international cooperation, and in realization of the law on fundamental development programs by the year 2003.

For all these reasons I proposed that the post of the General Staff commander be assumed by a state secretary who has been in charge of the implementation of the law on fundamental development programs throughout this period, that is, a man who operationally prepared the solutions which will not only boost our combat potential but also future personnel development of the Slovene Army and, of course, a simultaneous and harmonized development of all systems that stem from the national security bases, namely, the defense system, the security system, and the rescue system.

[Skerjanc] During the debate in the Commission we first heard that the General Staff commander in a way offered his resignation to you three months ago, when you introduced some personnel changes. The deputies wondered whether Gutman offered his resignation, however, you constantly speak about a consentaneous replacement?

[Kacin] It is true that the General Staff commander did offer his resignation a few months ago; however, I did not accept his resignation then. Now that a great portion of this job has been completed, including the passing of a military defense doctrine, all the conditions have been met to indulge his request and also find a solution that will best aid the next phase of development of the Slovene defense system.

I would like to emphasize once again that Mr. Gutman is not leaving the Defense Ministry. In the next few months he will be assigned other important duties within the ministry. [end recording]

Jansa: Nomination 'Political'

AU2707180595 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 27 Jul 95

[Statement by Janez Jansa, president of the Social Democratic Party, at a news conference in Ljubljana on 26 July—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bearing in mind that he [Gutman] was appointed by President Kucan, with whom I did not exactly maintain exemplary relations at the time, it would be difficult to claim that he is a man who is unilaterally linked to one political option.

In his work following my replacement it would be difficult to find anything that would indicate that he is a man of a certain political orientation. The reason for the replacement in my opinion lies precisely here. The fact is that this is not the only replacement that is being prepared in the Defense Ministry. The replacement of some provincial commanders who have remained since the times of the war for Slovenia and also some other personnel in the General Staff is also envisaged, and evidently to these posts are coming people with absolutely clear political orientation. One can say this for his successor, Mr. Bojan Suligoj. Even though Bojan Suligoj was a relatively good provincial commander, as far as capability goes there can be no comparison here. In my assessment General Gutman is, judging by what he had demonstrated during the war and after it, five times more capable than Suligoj.

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Government Reports on Progress of Privatization

95BA0295A Ljubljana SLOVENIA WEEKLY in English 8 Jul 95 p 13

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Restructuring and Privatization Agency of Slovenia so far received 1,359 privatization programs, and approved 711 of them, while 648 programs are still being processed. Four hundred thirty five companies concluded their privatization processes, State Secretary for Privatization, Tone Rop, stated at a news conference Wednesday. The total value of socially-owned capital in the so far approval privatization programs is approximately 400 billion tolars. Most privatization processes were conducted by an internal purchase (23.3 percent of socially owned capital), followed by the transfer of stock to the Development Fund (18.01 percent), the internal distribution of stock (17.26 percent), and the public sale of stock (16.87 percent). Two hundred nineteen companies received approval for the second phase of privatization from the Agency on 28 June. The value of socially owned capital in these companies amounts to 89.6 billion tolars.

External Convertibility of Tolar Expected in Sep

AU2807092795 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] As proof of the settled situation in Slovenia and to facilitate easier access to foreign financial markets, the government today decided to send a letter to the IMF, expressing the intention to declare the external convertibility of our currency [Slovene tolar].

A formal statement about the transition to full convertibility is expected to come in force at the beginning of September, Finance Minister Gaspari and Bank of Slovenia Governor Arhar said at a news conference after the government session.

They explained that the transition to external convertibility will reduce the so-called credit risk of our country abroad, which will be especially important in the autumn when we will have to take out new loans for the realization of the budget.

This ultimate proof of Slovene financial independence, as the two financiers called the announced external convertibility, will not bring any changes for ordinary people. [passage omitted]

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Federal

Bill on Federal Citizenship Before Parliament

LD2707160095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1443 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 27 (TANJUG)—A bill on Yugoslav citizenship, aimed at securing the continuity of the federal citizenship in the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro, was submitted for consideration to the Federal Parliament Thursday [27 July].

The bill, drawn up by the Federal Government, envisages that a person be entitled to Yugoslav citizenship on the basis of descent, birth on Yugoslav territory, by request, and under international agreements, and loses it by denial, renunciation, and under international agreements.

Proceeding from the principle of the state's legal continuity, the bill proposes that by the force of law all citizens of the former Yugoslav Federation who had Serbia's or Montenegro's republican citizenships at the time of the proclamation of the new federation's Constitution on April 27, 1992 and their children born after that date be considered Yugoslav citizens.

Citizens of the other former Yugoslav republics can also become citizens of the new Yugoslav federation by the force of law if they were legally residing in the new federation at the time of the proclamation of its Constitution and have no other citizenship or if they request within a year's time since the law becomes effective that they be registered as Yugoslav citizens.

Yugoslav citizens will also be the citizens of the other republics of the former Yugoslavia who have kept their jobs in the Yugoslav Army.

The bill does not provide for dual citizenship as a regular institution but only in exceptional cases.

It envisages Yugoslavia's obligation to protect and care for all the citizens of the former Yugoslav federation who have fled to the territory of the new federation because of their national or religious affiliation or advocacy of respect for human rights and freedoms. A new legal institution has been envisaged to provide Yugoslav citizenship for such cases.

TANJUG on U.S. Senate Vote on Lifting Embargo

LD2707193195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1730 GMT 27 Jul 95

[Report by diplomatic editor Zoran Jevdjovic; "pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 27 (TANJUG)—The U.S. Senate's resolution calling on President Bill Clinton to take a decision on a unilateral exemption of the Bosnian Muslims from the UN embargo on arms deliveries to the former Yugoslavia raises doubts about what is actually involved and gives rise to additional concern.

Should the decision secure a two-thirds majority also in the House of Representatives, President Clinton would be prevented by the Constitution from resorting to his veto right. The decision cannot but be both politically and psychologically motivated, since it is well known that the Bosnian Muslims do not lack arms, which they are importing with the Western allies looking on.

A cause of additional concern for those who want to see the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina end is the fact that the consequences of a possible unilateral U.S. decision would most likely mean a further military straining in the field and thereby a further drawing away from the peace process.

The Muslim government in Sarajevo has enthusiastically applauded the outcome of the Senate vote, clearly showing that it is for continued bloodshed in the Balkans. However, the thoughts preoccupying Muslim Prime Minister in Sarajevo Haris Silajdzic are the least problem.

What is disturbing is the announced possibility of the withdrawal of UN peacekeepers, which could, according to the already disclosed variants, imply new contingents of foreign, primarily U.S., troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina, with the outcome of such military engagement as a big unknown. Not a few maintain that war operations would significantly escalate and spread, threatening neighhbouring regions.

It is hard to say whether the real dangers of the escalation of the war would make some leading U.S. political figures stop using the Bosnian issue as an election-campaign trump card. The issue appears to be increasingly suitable for the Republican Congress' increasingly sharp conflict with the Democratic administration which is being accused of lacking vision and hesitating and Clinton, himself, of lacking leadership at the global level.

In case the Bosnian war escalates, Europe, including Germany, which is in good part to blame for the Balkan tragedy, would find itself in a new position. An out-of-control development of the conflict would certainly not suit Europe.

The possible exemption of the Bosnian Muslims from the arms embargo is above all a form of pressure on the peace process and it undermines the efforts made for an equitable and lasting solution to be found as soon as possible.

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What is thus involved is the fanning of tensions, which can only make peace even more distant.

Serbia

Parties Condemn Indictment of Karadzic, Martic

AU2807124395

[FBIS Editorial Report] Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian in its 27 July edition on page 5 carries several reactions to the Hague International War Crimes Tribunal indictment against Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, Bosnian Serb military leader Ratko Mladic, Krajina Serb leader Milan Martic, and 45 other Croatian and Bosnian Serbs for genocide and crimes against humanity.

Milorad Vucelic, leader of the deputies club of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), assesses the decision as "illegitimate and illegal." According to him, "this court is something outside all existing international customs, rules, and laws. If somebody wishes to investigate the responsibility for everything that is happening on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, he will conclude that it is the international community and those forces that broke up Yugoslavia and provoked the war that is responsible for this." He concludes that the Hague Tribunal "is absolutely irrelevant and void and its rulings are nonexistent."

Another prominent SPS member, Radmilo Bogdanovic, agrees by saying that "Martic, Mladic, and Karadzic cannot end up on the list of war criminals because they organized people to fight against the repeated genocide of the Serbs," adding that such a ruling is primarily a reflection of a one-sided approach to the conflict by the international community and the Tribunal itself. "Nobody is dreaming of handing these people over. First FRY and Serbia must be recognized, a peaceful solution for the war conflict found, and then we shall see what then," Bogdanovic concludes.

Zoran Djindjic, president of the Democratic Party, in a statement to the FONET news agency, deems the indictment "completely counterproductive." In his opinion, what is required at the moment is "a minimum readiness" by all sides to resume negotiations, while this decision "has the role of chasing one side away from the negotiating table in the absence of any idea as to who could negotiate in its place," unless, Djindjic muses, "the idea is that Slobodan Milosevic negotiates on behalf of everybody." Djindjic also believes that this action proves the existence of "an international lobby that currently sees a solution in a military rather than a negotiating option."

The Serbian Renewal Movement in a press release calls the incitement "incomplete," as it does not include Croatian President Franjo Tudjman or Bosnia-Herzegovina President Izetbegovic, "who see the only way out of the Bosnian hell in military terms and a continuation of the war." The party also adds that "any crime perpetrated in this war should be condemned" and emphasizes that it is "an obvious fact" that all sides have committed ethnic cleansing and other war crimes.

Vojislav Kostunica, president of the Democratic Party of Serbia, has no doubts that the indictment "will not contribute much toward peace." He also thinks that the action "compromises the idea of the rule of law and an independent judiciary," deeming it "a case of a total politicization of the judiciary and transformation of the Hague International War Crimes Tribunal into a common instrument of pressure on the Serbian side."

Novak Kilibarda, president of the People's Party of Montenegro, also believes that the indictment will not help the peace process, adding that "this is a great misfortune for all who are sincerely interested in peace."

The Civic Council of Serbia, on the other hand, sees the indictment against Karadzic, Mladic, Martic, and 45 others suspected of committing war crimes as proof that the "Hague Tribunal is truly independent. Judge Goldstone did not wait for session of any commission or consult the Contact Group members when he decided to issue the indictment yesterday." The party's spokesman also recalls that the indicted Serbian leaders themselves "publicly 'boasted' that they had committed actions considered war crimes," recalling Martic's admission that he had ordered the bombing of Zagreb. The party also believes it is "very important for the Serbian side to cooperate with the Hague Tribunal."

Serbian Deputies Threaten Walkout Over TV Ban

AU2707201095 Paris AFP in English 1928 GMT 27 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 27 (AFP)—Serbian opposition deputies threatened Thursday [27 July] to walk out of Parliament to protest a decision by ruling Socialists to scrap live television coverage of house sessions.

The leaders of five opposition parties called the decision "a gross violation of the freedom of citizens and their right to monitor the work of their representatives," the FONET agency reported.

The deputies threatened to boycott Parliament "if this decision, imposed by the parliamentary majority in spite of the Constitution...remains in force."

The decision to abolish live broadcasting was taken Wednesday by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's

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former communist Socialist Party of Serbia following a series of incidents in Parliament, the latest of which incolved an ultra-nationalist deputy attacking television journalists.

Association President Reports Good Wheat Harvest

LD2607172395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1610 GMT 26 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Aleksinac, 26 Jul (TANJUG)—Vidan Randjelovic, president of the Serbian Farmers' Association, stated today in Mozgovo near Aleksinac that over 3 million tonnes of bread wheat have already been harvested in the republic and that almost 1.8 million tonnes of this is a market surplus.

"If to this we add last year's reserves, Serbia has over 4.2 million tonnes of wheat. This is an opportunity, after the lifting of sanctions, for us to sell the bulk of the surplus abroad," Randjelovic said at the formal opening of the republic's economic and cultural event "Days of the east Serbian harvest" in Mozgovo. [passage omitted]

Montenegro

Djukanovic: 'Someone' Obstructing Fuel Resources

AU2707164195 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jul 95 p 16

[FONET report: "Federal Balance of Energy Resources Exists Only on Paper"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica—While the Federal Constitutional Court is preparing to debate the constitutionality of the Montenegrin Government's decision that gasoline and oil derivatives be sold in Montenegro for foreign currency, which Prime Minister Djukanovic says was adopted out of need as there are no other funds to purchase liquid fuel, businessmen in Montenegro are appealing to the federal organs to ensure the equal distribution of the so-called balance of energy resources, MONTENA FAX reports.

"The balance of energy resources that was determined by the federal government, is not working at all," said Vojin Djukanovic, representative of the Montenegrin Economic Chamber.

He is warning that this balance represents a "danger for both the state and the economy, for, without the proper functioning of this balance of energy resources, there is neither a Yugoslav state nor a Montenegrin economy."

Pointing out that, due to the shortage of fuel, the Podgorica Aluminum Combine must stop production, Djukanovic says that, instead of the 33,000 metric tons of fuel that Montenegro is due to receive according to the balance of energy resources during the first six months, Montenegro received about 6,000 metric tons, or about 17 percent.

"Someone is obstructing the functioning of the federal balance of energy resources! We demand that they be named publicly," Djukanovic said categorically.

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